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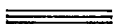
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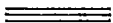
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# Some Problems Involved in Writing the History of the Confederacy

By CHARLES W. RAMSDELL

When, unguardedly, I succumbed to the blandishments of the chairman of the program committee, Professor Binkley, and agreed to present this paper, it seemed that the task would be a fairly easy one.<sup>1</sup> But later, when I attempted to set down explicitly these "problems" as I see them, it became painfully evident that they are only my problems and that they may not present the same difficulties to others that they do to me. While, therefore, this presentation may prove to be only an embarrassing confession of my own ignorance, perhaps it may still serve its purpose by provoking a general discussion which will elicit new points of view and new sources of information. Of course, everyone here will understand that it is impossible within the limits of such a paper as this to list all the problems which must confront anyone who undertakes such a complex subject as the history of the Southern Confederacy.

This future historian will first have to answer for himself the question, "What kind of a history is this to be? What is to be its scope, where its emphasis?" If we answer the question for him, we shall probably say that what we do *not* want is a history that lays undue emphasis upon any particular phase of the story, whether it be military operations, or the political and administrative policies and difficulties of the Confederate government, or the socio-economic conditions of the people. We want instead a full, comprehensive, well-balanced and ar-

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read before the Southern Historical Association at its First Annual Meeting, in Birmingham, Alabama, October 25, 1935.

ticated account that will give due weight to all discoverable factors in the struggle of the Southern people for independence and their failure to achieve it. Without sacrificing accuracy, it should have as much literary charm as the writer is capable of imparting to it. You may say that such an ideal is unattainable, and it probably is; but our historian must necessarily set up some such ideal even though he may not be able to approximate it. It becomes evident at once that he will need our sympathy.

We may assume that our historian has already done extensive research in the period of the Confederacy. If he is at all well qualified for his task, he will have discovered that there is hardly a problem of any consequence whose roots do not run back into ante-bellum conditions. He must therefore make himself as well acquainted as possible with the ante-bellum South. It need not be said to this audience that, although much excellent work has now been done in that field and more is under way, much more still needs to be done before we can visualize the whole picture of the South as it was just before secession. Thanks to the great work of the lamented U. B. Phillips and others we now have illuminating accounts of the organization and administration of the plantation and the working of the system of slavery. This will be helpful in dealing with one important aspect of the life of the Confederacy. But we know too little about the outlook and attitudes of the small farmers who constituted the great mass of the population. It would be a great boon to have such a study of the ante-bellum small farmer as Rupert B. Vance has made of his descendants; but the material for case-histories is lacking. Too little is known about the Southern business men, whether merchants, factors, industrialists or bankers—men who were to play important, if relatively inconspicuous parts in the struggle for Southern independence. Broadus Mitchell, in his *William Gregg*,<sup>2</sup> and Dr. Kathleen Bruce, in her excellent *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era*,<sup>3</sup> have shown what may be done on the little known subject of Southern industrial development. But our historian will need to

<sup>2</sup> Chapel Hill, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> New York, 1931.

know something of the status of the iron business in northern Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, for it was from the little mines and smelters in these states that the Confederate ordnance bureau was procuring the greater part of its iron by 1863. And it would be helpful for him to get as much information as possible about the little wool and cotton yarn mills and cloth mills which were scattered from Virginia to Mississippi, inadequate though they were for the needs of both the army and the civilian population. Especially useful would be some knowledge of Southern banks and banking, their functional relation to both Southern and Northern credit policies, and of the banking laws of the several Southern states and how they actually operated. He may then be able better to understand the wartime financial and fiscal policies of the Confederate government and of the states. In brief, he must acquaint himself with the nature and extent of the material resources of the South before he can proceed to the more difficult task of discovering and revealing how they were organized, administered, and utilized under the Confederacy. And at present he would find himself sorely in need of searching studies of ante-bellum state politics—studies which give careful attention both to personal and factional rivalries and to economic and social backgrounds. For some states virtually nothing of lasting importance has been done while for others such studies as have appeared have tended to present the reaction to Federal politics rather than to local issues. This is not to intimate that interest in Federal issues was unimportant, for it *was* important; but one suspects that local or intrastate issues played a much larger part in state affairs even in the eighteen-fifties than they do in most of our state histories. And we may be quite sure that local ante-bellum political alignments and jealousies were carried over into the public affairs of the Confederacy. All these things are mentioned merely as illustrations of the general contention that our unfortunate historian will need to know much more than any one of us, I suspect, now knows about the ante-bellum South.

Coming now directly to the Confederacy itself, let us consider for a moment the problem of handling the military operations. Notwithstanding the tendency of historians in recent years to relegate military

matters to a much less conspicuous place in favor of economic, social, and other factors—a shift of emphasis with which, I confess, I strongly sympathize—how can any comprehensive history of the Confederacy neglect the military portions of the story? Popular attention was fixed upon the armies as upon no other one thing. Upon them depended the fate of the “revolution.” To use a very trite illustration, we cannot eliminate the melancholy Dane and still call our play “Hamlet.” But when our historian undertakes the story of the military campaigns he must face two difficult problems. One is that of space and proportion. It is extremely difficult to describe such a complicated thing as a military campaign briefly and also satisfactorily, for almost innumerable factors arose to condition every plan and movement. If the historian says nothing of them he leaves the impression that the armies moved in straight lines over a smooth surface, and he really tells us nothing. If, on the other hand, he tries to tell everything that had a significant bearing on the results of the operations, his narrative runs on and on into more volumes than he can bear to think of. The other difficulty is likely to be even greater. It is that of so analyzing the military operations that he can retain the respect of competent military technicians. It may seem surprising that out of all the extensive literature of the Civil War very little has been written in a manner to satisfy the critical expert who is thoroughly trained in the techniques of both military science and historical investigation. Very few of the narratives of participants can be relied upon; for some had forgotten much before they began to write; others wrote primarily to defend their own reputations; others, still, merely to meet public demand or to gratify a very human desire to leave a record of their own achievements. When they consulted documents they used official reports, a notoriously faulty type of evidence. Later historians have too often relied upon these same narratives or official reports. Most of them lacked the technical training for analyzing a military situation or the logistics and tactics employed and have given no consideration, or very little, to conditions of terrain, weather, roads, means of transportation, availability of supplies, and the scores of other things that contributed to success or failure. There are some men,



trained in the staff schools or the War College of the United States army, competent in both the military and the historical techniques, like Colonel A. L. Conger and Colonel O. L. Spaulding, Jr., who have made permanent contributions to the study of these military operations; and there are others in civil life like Thomas R. Hay and Douglas S. Freeman whose fine work is fresh in our minds. There are some whose technical knowledge of military matters cannot be questioned but who have failed utterly to take into account the imponderables that weigh so heavily in warfare and, which is even worse, have shown a deplorable lack of critical ability in the handling of evidence. The work of the distinguished British officer, Major General J. F. C. Fuller, may be cited as an example.

What is our historian to do if he lacks the requisite training in military science? It is easier to ask the question than to answer it. Perhaps his only safety lies in first getting the critical advice of experts and then in resort to caution and prayer.

There is another subject closely related to military operations which has received little attention from the military historians; and this is surprising because every trained military man is well aware of its importance. I refer to the work of the services of supply or, to use the terminology of the 1860's, the subsistence, quartermaster's, medical, and ordnance bureaus of the war department. In the first place, these bureaus were absolutely essential to the very existence of the armies and any serious lapse in their functioning might quickly disrupt the plans of the military commander and involve the loss of a campaign. When the bureau of subsistence failed to provide food for the men, or the quartermasters to furnish shoes or sufficient transportation, or the ordnance bureau to bring up ammunition, even military genius could not overcome such a handicap. And such things happened. In the second place, these services of supply reached into almost every community of the South and out through the blockade to Europe. The inside story of their administration, if it could be fully told, would not only throw new light upon the difficulties and some of the failures of the commanders in the field but would also reveal much about the resources of the Southern

people and the troubles encountered in making them available. In fact, they touch upon almost every activity of the Confederate government and on much of that of the states. But the difficulties of reconstructing even an approximation of the full story of these services seem practically insuperable. That vast compilation, *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*,<sup>4</sup> though an unrivaled storehouse of information, by no means contains adequate material on this subject. Compiled by war department clerks who had no training in and little conception of the importance of the economic side of war, it places the emphasis upon the work of the armies in the field. Such information as pertains to the Confederate services of supply seems to have been included rather incidentally. This is especially true of the bureau of subsistence which was presided over until near the end of the war by the eccentric L. B. Northrop. Many of the original records were lost during the conflict or were destroyed, accidentally or purposely, in the confusion of the last days. Some of them, overlooked by the compilers of the *Official Records*, are to be found in the "Confederate Archives," Old Records Division of the adjutant general's office in Washington; but they are difficult to search out. A little material has found its way into other public repositories, a little is in private hands. But unless other collections are uncovered, there will remain many puzzling gaps in the story.

Everybody knows that one of the heaviest handicaps of the Confederates was their lack of sufficient mechanical industries to supply their own needs. Reference has already been made to the desirability of learning more about the extent and conditions of these industries before the war began. It is, of course, even more necessary for the historian to find out all he can about their condition and contributions to the common cause during the war. Of some we can find incomplete accounts, amounting in certain cases to mere fragments; of others merely the location; while others still have left little more than a trace. Some, we know, wore out their machinery and closed down; some were destroyed, with all their records, either by accidental fires or by invading armies.

<sup>4</sup> Washington, 1880-1901, 70 vols. in 128.

We can only hope that sometime enough records may turn up to enable the historian to reconstruct their story in greater part than now seems possible. We know that there was a deplorable scarcity of every kind of fabricated article—cloth, tanned leather, iron or steel tools, horse-shoes, plows, nails, needles, bagging and rope for cotton bales, sacks for shipping grain, glassware, everything that was in common use. One of the prime necessities, salt, now so common that we take its abundance as a matter of course, was so scarce that procuring even a meager supply became one of the major problems of both the people and the state governments. Fortunately we now have the excellent study of Dr. Ella Lonn on *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy*.<sup>5</sup> But we lack any sort of account of such local industries as tanneries, wagon shops, shoe shops and the like. The same is true of the small private gun factories; but thanks to the enthusiastic researches of a few collectors of old firearms the locations of many of these small factories have been determined. Too often, however, the quantity and quality of their output have remained mysteries. It may seem to some of you that I am asking too much of the historian of the Confederacy in setting this problem before him. I am convinced, however, that the scarcity of fabricated articles so much needed in everyday life, had an important bearing on the outcome of the war, for it affected not merely the efficiency of the armed forces but had much to do with the war-weariness and the irritation that were so much in evidence in the last two years of the conflict. Our historian should neglect nothing that materially affected the conditions and the temper of the people who must support the armies.

The development of the railroads in the ante-bellum South has received some attention, beginning with U. B. Phillips' *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt* in 1908;<sup>6</sup> but except for one brief article published nineteen years ago and the interesting but rather superficial chapter in F. B. C. Bradlee's *Blockade Running during the Civil War*,<sup>7</sup> there has been very little published on the part played by the

<sup>5</sup> New York, 1933.

<sup>6</sup> New York, 1908.

<sup>7</sup> Salem, Mass., 1925.

railroads in the struggles of the Confederacy. Mr. Robert S. Henry's *Story of the Confederacy*<sup>8</sup> is practically the only narrative of the military campaigns that gives attention to the problem of Confederate railroad transportation. There is considerable material available, but it is scattered through almost every conceivable collection of sources. The material on inland waterways transportation—by river and canal—is more restricted and more difficult of access. Of wagon roads and wagons our historian will probably be able to say only that the roads were usually very bad and that wagons, and teams to pull them, became so scarce that local transportation in many sections broke down completely.

Of paramount importance in any general account of the Confederacy are the financial and fiscal operations and devices of the general and the state governments. All of us are familiar with the work of J. C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America*,<sup>9</sup> and of E. A. Smith, *The History of the Confederate Treasury*,<sup>10</sup> both of which appeared in 1901. These men actually examined the records of the Confederate department of the treasury and their publications are very helpful in following out the formal operations of that department; but they wrote at a time when economists were very conservative and they were both much concerned with pointing out the dangers of paper money inflation. They did not, I think, give sufficient attention either to the background of Southern conditions—I mean the credit system, the tax systems, banking practices and banking laws before secession—or to the inherent difficulties which confronted the treasury officials during the war itself. Anyone who looks into all the pertinent facts without prejudice will have some difficulty, I apprehend, in determining just how the Confederacy could have solved its financial problem. Some errors of the Confederate government, very serious ones, are obvious. Certainly the refunding act of February 17, 1864, proved worse than a failure; but was there really any way by which at that late day the Congress could have redeemed the credit of the government? In this connection, it

<sup>8</sup> Indianapolis, 1931.

<sup>9</sup> New York, 1901.

<sup>10</sup> Harrisburg, 1901.

would be well for the historian to look into the banking experience and the financial views of Christopher G. Memminger before the war as he expressed them in his controversy with the Bank of the State of South Carolina. If he thinks that Mr. Memminger was entirely ignorant of the principles of public finance he may find things that will surprise him. The development of the Confederate tax system as well as the tax systems and financial operations of the several states and their repercussions upon Confederate finances will require careful consideration.

Among the many measures of the Confederate government which must receive attention are the following: the provisions and administration of the conscription acts; the methods adopted to check desertion from the armies (and the causes of desertion); the suspensions of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus; the sequestration of the property of "alien enemies"; the policy and methods of impressment of supplies and labor; the belated efforts to control blockade running in the interest of the general government; and the effects of all these measures upon the public temper, or, more accurately, upon the interests and attitudes of certain economic and political groups of the population. Fortunately, there are excellent monographs on some of these subjects: Dean A. B. Moore's *Conscription and Conflict*;<sup>11</sup> Dr. Ella Lonn's *Desertion during the Civil War*;<sup>12</sup> and Mr. S. B. Thompson's *Confederate Purchasing Operations Abroad*.<sup>13</sup> Although the historian may be able to bring to light some new material on the subjects of these special studies, he is not very likely to find any that will warrant a substantial modification of the conclusions set forth in them. Evidence is available on all the others, although scattered sometimes in rather obscure places. The task of our historian will be not so much to find the sources of information as to weigh the relative effects of all such measures upon the work of the armies, the condition and attitudes of the people and the fortunes of the Confederacy. In doing this he will find difficulty enough to challenge all his powers of analysis.

<sup>11</sup> New York, 1924.

<sup>12</sup> New York, 1928.

<sup>13</sup> Chapel Hill, 1935.

There were two other difficult problems of the Confederate government—and, in large measure, of the states also—which are likely to prove nearly as troublesome to the historian. One was how to make best use of the slave population; the other was what to do with the great staple crops, especially cotton and tobacco. As to the slaves, we know that it was expected at first that they would be kept at their usual tasks on the plantations or at other work, except when hired as laborers on fortifications or in some other capacity with the armies. Even free Negroes were not to be accepted as soldiers. But slaves on the plantations must be kept under the accustomed discipline if they were to produce the needed food supplies. There was little difficulty on this score until the Federal armies made lodgment on the coasts and began to penetrate the planting regions of the Mississippi Valley. Then the Negroes became restless and the plantation routine near the Federal lines began to break up. This situation was the chief cause for the passage of the famous "twenty negro" exemption law of October 11, 1862, which had such troublesome repercussions among the nonslave-owners that, after some modifications, it was replaced, in February, 1864, by the provisions for "bond-exempts." But this was no less unpopular among the poorer people. To what extent did the poorer men who raised the cry, "It's a rich man's war and a poor man's fight," merely seize upon this particular exemption as a method of justifying, or of rationalizing, their very natural desire to escape the dangers and hardships of military service? Was the law unjust and inexpedient, considering the fact that food supplies must come chiefly from the plantations which could produce a surplus instead of from the small farms which could furnish but little? How else could the government, in the light of what we know of plantation management, have solved the problem? One other aspect of this slave problem should be mentioned. As the war dragged on and replacements in the army became more and more scanty, the government endeavored to make wider use of Negro slave labor on fortifications. Failing to procure enough by hiring, it resorted to impressment; and several of the states also passed laws for the impressment of slaves. Most planters protested the taking of their

Negro hands, alleging that the slaves were often overworked, underfed and were generally badly treated by the army officers, and that the withdrawal of their laborers from the plantation at critical times in planting, cultivating and harvesting crops was ruinous to the production of food supplies and therefore to the cause itself. How much of truth and how much of rationalization was there in all this? Or was the trouble merely in the administration of the law?

The cotton and tobacco question presents many angles. Could the Confederate government have utilized all the supply of cotton as a basis of credit in Europe at the beginning of the war and thus have solved its financial and naval problems? I mention this question not because I think it debatable—for I am unable to see that the scheme was feasible—but because it has been raised by others from time to time and it offers a neat opportunity for a discussion of all the factors involved in the situation. Let us turn to another side of the cotton question. Very early in the war the government undertook to prevent its exportation through the military lines to the North. For a time such cotton as was in danger of capture was burned either by those owners who were sufficiently patriotic or by state or Confederate officers. When the patriotism of the owners weakened because of their increasing privations and eager Northern buyers appeared just beyond the enemy's lines, a furtive but brisk trade through the lines began. The United States government encouraged this trade while the Confederate authorities frowned upon it and endeavored to stop it; but it went on throughout the rest of the war wherever the Union armies reached the cotton country. It made enormous profits to traders while to many Southern families it was the only means of procuring the necessities of life. The situation was one to foster official corruption; but although the air was full of accusations and innuendoes the beneficiaries were generally powerful enough to cover their tracks and but little direct evidence implicating individuals has come to light. Perhaps it should be said at this point that most of the evidence of official corruption points to officers in the Federal rather than those in the Confederate army; but that may have been because of the difference in opportunities. It would be interesting to know even

approximately what amount of supplies for the Confederate armies came through the lines from New Orleans in return for cotton and sugar while Benjamin F. Butler and Nathaniel P. Banks were in command in the Crescent City. Such exchanges went on in other quarters also but the evidence is generally so fragmentary that it excites without satisfying one's curiosity. One would like to know also what effect this clandestine trade between individual Southern families and Northern agents had upon the loyalty of those Southerners to the Confederate cause.

The limitations imposed by individual states upon the planting of cotton and tobacco, and the prohibitions upon the distillation of liquors, were interesting experiments in a region where the private property rights of the individual had always been held sacred. The laws were based upon the public necessity for the greater production and conservation of food supplies. It is easy to find what these laws provided; but it is very difficult to determine how well they were obeyed and administered and how effective they were.

The subject of the clandestine cotton trade suggests another. What do we know of the condition of Southern families left within the Federal lines in the subjugated districts, especially along the Mississippi? How did they adjust themselves to this situation? What of the treatment of the Negro population in such districts by Federal officials and by the favored contractors who were given the privilege of working abandoned plantations? Or should the historian of the Confederacy confine his attention to the ever-narrowing territory within the Confederate lines?

If he attempts to describe business conditions in the South during the war, what can he say except that most of it was deflected from its usual channels, that along some lines it practically dried up while in others it was stimulated to an extraordinary degree? We know in general the effects of the blockade, the downward plunges of the currency, the breakdown of transportation facilities, the frequent impressments, occasional state embargoes, the irruptions of Federal armies and the devastations of large areas in northern Virginia and in the Valley of the Mississippi. But very few records of business firms during this troubled



period are available and most of these are fragmentary. No business statistics seem to have been gathered in sufficient quantity to be of much value. In short, we are forced to resort to general deductions or impressions; for while we feel reasonably certain about some of these things, we lack the detailed evidence with which to support our generalizations. We find that some firms, fortunately situated, made enormous paper profits. We find much complaint of "speculators" who forestalled the markets, monopolized the necessities of life and callously oppressed the poor; but it is not always easy for us to distinguish between what was indubitably profiteering and what was the inevitable result of the rapid fall of the currency or of the actual physical scarcity of goods. Blockade-running made huge profits and the stocks of the corporations engaged in the business were bought and sold with all the frenzy that ever characterized the New York Stock Exchange; but extremely little information about the financial operations of these companies seems to have been preserved.

We know, likewise, that the families of the poor often endured the most severe privations, whether they were soldiers' wives and children living on small farms out in the remote hills or town dwellers trying to eke out an existence on fixed incomes whose purchasing power had vanished. We have some records of the townsmen's difficulties, but the rural folk were not the sort to leave much in the way of records. They must have written to their menfolk in the armies, but soldiers in the field could not preserve letters for the future historian.

This paper is becoming too long, but something should be said about the matter of politics. Despite the assertion of some Confederate leaders that politics was adjourned during the struggle for independence, one does not have to go far into the records to discover that this was not the case. As a matter of fact—and it would have been strange if it had been otherwise—when the first Congress met in Montgomery in February, 1861, it was divided into mutually distrustful groups. After the policies of the Davis administration had begun to take form, there was a marked shifting of old party lines, with former Whigs and Democrats supporting the administration and other Whigs and Democrats oppos-

ing it. There are, here and there, very definite traces of old divisions and old animosities, but the tendencies were for new alignments. In many instances these new groupings are very hard to trace, so many are the crosslines of obscure individual or local interests and so scanty is the documentary evidence. While we can follow the votes as recorded in the *Journals of the Confederate Congress*,<sup>14</sup> the failure of the Congress to record and publish its debates reduces us largely to conjecture. The Southern Historical Society has done what it could to fill the gaps by publishing such of the proceedings, including summaries of speeches, as appeared in the Richmond newspapers; but its record begins only with the first session of the "Permanent" Congress on February 18, 1862, and cannot, naturally, cover the numerous secret sessions. It seems strange that so little has been discovered of the correspondence of the members of the Confederate Congress. If a few collections of such correspondence or a few good diaries of members of the House and Senate could be unearthed, we might be able to get at the explanation of a number of puzzling things. How, in the face of the military disasters in the West and on the coast, in the face of the growing unpopularity of members of his cabinet, such as Judah P. Benjamin, Memminger and Stephen R. Mallory, did Jefferson Davis manage for so long to maintain his hold over a majority of Congress? What of the activities of the congressional cliques that centered around P. G. T. Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston? What are the real explanations of the widespread reaction against the administration as revealed in the congressional elections of 1863? Or was it really directed against the President? There is considerable evidence of the activities of the Georgia group of malcontents, but less is known of those in other states. Every state had its antiadministration group, large or small, but in most cases the records of their plans and activities are tantalizingly scanty. How much of this local opposition was based upon a doctrinaire devotion to the traditional rights of states—so strongly emphasized by Professor Owsley in his well-known book, *State Rights in the Confederacy*<sup>15</sup>—how much grew out of per-

<sup>14</sup> Washington, 1904-1905, 7 vols.

<sup>15</sup> Chicago, 1925.

sonal pique or jealousy, how much came of the politician's tendency to capitalize popular discontent, how much was due to honest difference of opinion? It is a nice problem.

It is obvious to anyone who has made any study of the Confederacy that these are by no means all the special problems that will confront the historian who would tell the full story. For instance, nothing has been said of the problem of the churches; nothing of the army hospitals, nor of the search for indigenous substitutes for medicines, nor of relief organizations. I have barely hinted at some of the many social activities of the states. I have not even suggested that there were troublesome constitutional problems; nor have I mentioned the difficulty of finding the records tracing the activities of the Confederate district courts.<sup>16</sup> I have said nothing whatever about the foreign policy or foreign relations. This last subject, however, has received much more exhaustive and more adequate treatment than has the internal history.<sup>17</sup>

This rambling paper must end. By way of summary, it may be said that anyone who, in the present state of our knowledge and available sources, attempts now to write a comprehensive history of the very complex life of the Confederacy must do a great deal of pioneer work for himself. We greatly need more good monographic studies based upon an exhaustive examination of sources. The very complexity of the field as a whole presents a difficult problem in the organization of the material. The evidence on many points is very scanty and in some cases is likely to remain so; in other instances, though fairly abundant, it is often technical or conflicting. After all, however, these problems are always present to worry the historical investigator when he attempts to cover any large field of human endeavor.

<sup>16</sup> Since this paper was written Major William Robinson has announced his discovery of the records of these courts. He has in preparation a work on the Confederate judiciary.

<sup>17</sup> The latest and fullest discussion is in Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931).

# A Social Scientist of the Old South

*By* LEONARD C. HELDERMAN

The Old South has commonly been dismissed as a negligible factor in the intellectual history of the United States.<sup>1</sup> Now the candid student cannot, of course, dispute the thesis that for the three decades prior to the Civil War the South suffered a comparative decline in the creative fields of art, science, and thought. The causes of this melancholy truth, still inadequately explored by the historian, were many and complex and exerted an enduring influence on the New South whose ideals and standards of value were rooted more in the ante-bellum than in the Revolutionary tradition. The intellectual eclipse of the Old South, however, has been exaggerated. Its contributions have been minimized because they have not been studied. It gave a Maury to science, a Gildersleeve to the classics, a McCormick to invention, a Calhoun to political theory, and a Simms to literature. And to this group must be added the name of George Tucker, the social scientist and one of the most authentic scholars of the period. This paper, following a brief biographical introduction, will undertake to discuss his contributions to history and economics.

George Tucker was born August 20, 1775, in the town of St. George's, Bermuda, where his father, Daniel Tucker, was mayor and merchant. His family reached back to counties Kent and Devon, England, throbbing centers of enterprise since the days of Queen Elizabeth. In the era of colonization its members had migrated to various parts of the British Empire—to New England, South Carolina, India, Bermuda,

<sup>1</sup> This article, prepared under a Grant-in-Aid from the Social Science Research Council, was read before the Southern Historical Association at Birmingham, October 26, 1935.

and Virginia. From the days of the Virginia Company the name figured prominently in the history of the Old Dominion. The most famous member of the Virginia branch was St. George Tucker of Williamsburg, the uncle of the George Tucker under present consideration.<sup>2</sup>

After a preparatory course under tutors in Bermuda, young Tucker came to Williamsburg in 1795 to continue his education at the College of William and Mary. Here in 1797 he graduated with the Bachelor of Arts degree and remained to study law under his uncle. Toward the end of the century, after hesitating between London and Virginia for his future, he settled at Richmond and practiced law. In 1802, he married Maria Carter, grandniece of George Washington.<sup>3</sup> In 1803, along with the most prominent men of the city, he was made a trustee of Richmond Academy.<sup>4</sup> Although not a native of Virginia, these connections gave him entree to the best society of the commonwealth. Richmond, for three decades capital of the state, was now the mecca of the Virginia lawyer. Here at the opening of the century Tucker came in contact with a remarkable group of men and a free and humane society, the equal of any of its day. It was the period when young Albert Gallatin fell in love with the rising city by the James, and even that deep-rooted son of New England, William Ellery Channing, melted before the warmth of Richmond geniality.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The purely biographical data is drawn from Robey Dunglison, "Obituary Notice of Professor Tucker," in American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings*, IX (1862-1864), 64-70; Robert Lewis Harrison, "George Tucker," in *Library of Southern Literature*, XII (1907), 5515-37; and Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, 3 vols. (New York, 1920). The history of the Tucker family is set forth in Thomas Addis Emmet, *An Account of the Tucker Family of Bermuda* (New York, 1898), and in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII (1909), 19-24.

<sup>3</sup> He was married three times. His first wife, Maria Carter, was a granddaughter of Washington's sister, Betty Lewis, and Colonel Fielding Lewis. His second wife was Mary Byrd-Farley, daughter of Mary Byrd of Westover. His third wife was a daughter of Peter Bowdoin of the Eastern Shore.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Shepherd, *Statutes at Large of Virginia* (1792-1806), III, 34. Other prominent trustees: George Wythe, John Marshall, Edmund Randolph, John Wickham, John Page, George Hay, and John Brockenbrough.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Adams, *Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1880), 54; William H. Channing (ed.), *Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts* (Boston, 1848), I, 79-131.

In 1806, Tucker moved to an estate in Pittsylvania County, where he combined law and politics with the life of a country gentleman. Between 1806 and 1818, he served as commonwealth's attorney, member of the general assembly, trustee of an academy at Danville, and was especially active in promoting the improvement of navigation on the Roanoke River.<sup>6</sup> During this period, moreover, he wrote a series of significant essays and a rare satire on the horse-racing gentry of the day which revealed a scholarly temperament at odds with the noisy aspects of courtyard politics and village law practice.<sup>7</sup> Fortunately for his political ambitions, however, the satire was anonymous, for in 1818 he moved to Lynchburg and was elected to Congress.<sup>8</sup>

His congressional career covered the six years following 1819 and, while not particularly brilliant, brought him the broadening contacts of Washington and some reputation as an authority on political economy and as a forceful writer. So excellent a judge as John Quincy Adams noted in his diary that a paper attributed to Tucker was probably his because its "style and temper" were "both very good."<sup>9</sup> In general, he supported the Virginia positions on the issues of the day. He opposed admission of Missouri with a slavery restriction, the bankruptcy bill, the protective tariff, and internal improvements at Federal expense.<sup>10</sup> He was a Jeffersonian Republican during his service in Congress, and in the realignment of the late twenties he reacted against the rising Jacksonian movement. He became an ardent admirer of Henry Clay and such a

<sup>6</sup> George Tucker, *Letters on the Roanoke Navigation* (Richmond, 1811); M. C. Clement, *History of Pittsylvania County* (Lynchburg, 1929), 233.

<sup>7</sup> The essays were published in a Philadelphia magazine, the *Port-Folio*, XII-XIV (1814-1815). The satire appeared in *Letters from Virginia: Translated from the French* (Baltimore, 1816). This is dealt with by the author in a forthcoming issue of the *American Scholar* under title of "A Satirist in Old Virginia."

<sup>8</sup> *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928), 1630; Margaret Cabell, *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg* (Richmond, 1858), 106-107, 305-10.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848* (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), VI, 346.

<sup>10</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 Sess., 1525-39 (February 25, 1820); 18 Cong., 1 Sess., 1332-43 (February 3, 1824), 2336-37 (April 14, 1824).

positive tone of nationalism is noticeable in his thought as to lead one to classify him as a Clay Whig.<sup>11</sup>

At the conclusion of his third term in Congress he retired from public life and accepted an appointment to the faculty of the University of Virginia. His election to this position was in recognition of a small volume of essays on political economy published in 1822. The book had attracted the attention of Madison, who recommended his appointment.<sup>12</sup> At the University he was chosen chairman of the faculty, the chief administrative officer under the Jeffersonian organization. As an administrator he was firm and comprehending. Along with his kinsman, Henry St. George Tucker, he stood out against the movement for total abstinence then being pressed by General John H. Cocke, who was showing ominous signs of developing from a Jeffersonian "visitor" into a proprietary trustee and keeper of the public conscience. Moreover, he favored relaxing the rigorous rule against any Christmas holiday except December 25 and opposed the move to require the students to wear uniforms, deeming such regulations to be puerile and at war with the Jeffersonian tradition.<sup>13</sup> As a professor he was popular, but had the reputation of being rather exacting. One student, indeed, who later became a professor of moral philosophy himself and one of the most truculent Bourbons of the day, found his lectures "dull and uninteresting" and his courses "confusion worse confounded."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> George Tucker to J. S. Johnston, October 19, December 8, 1831, in Pennsylvania Historical Society MSS.; to Gales and Seaton, October 12, 1833, in New York Public Library MSS.; Calvin Colton (ed.), *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay* (New York, 1856), 405.

<sup>12</sup> *Early History of the University of Virginia as Contained in the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell* (Richmond, 1856), 324-50. This work contains selections from the correspondence now in the Library of Congress. See *Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson*, in *House Documents*, 57 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 622; John S. Patton, *Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia* (New York, 1906).

<sup>13</sup> Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, II, 67, 160, 248-49; III, 131.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Cary Johnson, *Life and Letters of Robert Lewis Dabney* (Richmond, 1903), 54. Opposing the liberal movements of the New South, he went heresy hunting after Woodrow Wilson's father, and fought the free school system advocated by William Henry Ruffner. Viewing the Southern scene from the desolation of 1867, he had neither

His official connection with the University continued throughout the twenty years following 1825. During this period he demonstrated evidence of educational statesmanship of a high order. In 1833, at the request of Governor John Floyd, he prepared a plan for extending the advantages of higher education to a larger number of Virginia youth. The chief obstacle to a wider diffusion of university influence was, he believed, on account of the expense of attendance. Theoretically, he thought there was no better way than state endowment of young men of promising genius. As a practical plan, however, he apprehended many obstacles to a project of direct gifts such as public unwillingness to bear the cost, invidious distinctions, and an attitude of disdain among talented but impecunious Virginians "moved by an inborn sense of equality." As an alternative, therefore, he proposed a system of state loans to qualified young men selected by the county courts.<sup>15</sup> Such a plan for state aid toward the conservation of the most fundamental of all natural resources was an idea pregnant with large Jeffersonian implications.

His educational insight was further revealed in a protest against the rising threat of medievalism and utilitarianism which was tending to subordinate scholarship and humane learning to a position of secondary importance as an educational objective. Since the death of Jefferson there had been a growing trend in this direction, induced by factors still inadequately treated by the historian. Tragically enough, this ominous trend is discernible at the moment when New England, under the impulse of Emerson, was moving toward its luminous epoch. Two years before Emerson's classic appeal to the American scholar, however, Professor Tucker gave to scholarship and curiosity a tactful and balanced defense espousing "the philosophy of Newton and Locke and of our own illustrious Franklin." The address closed with an earnest plea to Virginians to bestir themselves in the cause of literature and liberal

learned nor forgotten anything. He still presented a defense of slavery backed by full Scriptural citations. See his *Defence of Virginia* (New York, 1867).

<sup>15</sup> *Journal and Documents of the House of Delegates, 1833-1834* (Richmond, 1834), no. 1, p. 167.



learning and give the state the same rank she had always had in leadership. "We should not fold our arms in listless apathy," he exclaimed, "lest we be left further behind by those in advance of us and be overtaken by those in our rear."<sup>16</sup> The failure of the Old Dominion to heed this eloquent challenge constitutes one of the most tragic chapters of its history.

In 1845, upon reaching the age of seventy, he retired from the University and moved to Philadelphia. Increasing student unrest culminating in the death of a professor and ugly rumors that the University was a hotbed of intemperance and skepticism had long set the godly forces of the commonwealth agog. In April of 1845 the student body became so riotous under a so-called band of Callithumpians that lectures were suspended and the military called in to restore order.<sup>17</sup> The chair of moral philosophy was first offered to Thomas R. Dew of William and Mary, who declined. Benjamin Blake Minor, distinguished editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, had the support of Tucker for the position,<sup>18</sup> but public opinion, particularly in the western part of the state, demanded a clergyman for this department to give tone and direction to the student mind.<sup>19</sup> The choice at length fell on William H. Mc-

<sup>16</sup> George Tucker, "A Discourse on the Progress of Philosophy and its Influence on the Intellectual and Moral Character of Man," in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond), I (1834-1835), 405-21. A correspondent of Professor Tucker wrote: "Politics are so much in vogue among us, that if an individual is to be chosen, on any occasion, to address our colleges, or universities, the uniform inquiry is, has he been a member of Congress, or a foreign ambassador, or a secretary of state? If so, he will answer our purpose exactly; when, at the same time, the retired scholar who makes academical learning an object of generous pursuit, might be much more apt to confer honor on the institution to which the appointing power appertains. We further take occasion to say, that in our colleges belles-lettres chairs are either not founded, or, if founded, are considered as subordinate to those of political economy." *Ibid.*, IV (1838), 685.

<sup>17</sup> *Niles' National Register* (Baltimore), LVIII (1845), 119 (April 26, 1845); *Journal and Documents of the House of Delegates, 1845-1846*, no. 15, p. 43.

<sup>18</sup> Benjamin Blake Minor, *The Southern Literary Messenger, 1834-1864* (New York, 1905), 116. Minor, later president of the University of Missouri, was one of that alert group who, in 1845, united in a public statement urging that something be done "to arrest the State in her downward course." Edward Ingle, *Southern Sidelights: A Picture of Social and Economic Life in the South a Generation before the War* (New York, 1896), 168.

<sup>19</sup> *Journal and Documents of the House of Delegates, 1845-1846*, no. 15, p. 4. In announcing the appointment of McGuffey, the Rector noted that he was "a gentleman of

Guffey, a Presbyterian divine of tough covenanter fiber who has been characterized as "the essence of average America."<sup>20</sup>

Aside from Neal Dow and General Cocke, Professor McGuffey was unquestionably the most distinguished advocate of total abstinence in his day. Moreover, he was destined to be an author of wide reputation. In addition to being credited with some three thousand sermons he had assembled a celebrated set of school readers whose sales reached the appalling total of eighty millions. These readers were saturated with moral maxims and appealed to the simple virtues of the heart rather than to the intellect. As might be expected, therefore, the more practical, if less erudite, McGuffey lost no time in inaugurating a new era by reversing the process from contemplative scholarship to piety and utility. The forces of the righteous began speedily to flourish. Prayers were said by early candlelight, vigorous sermons were preached, a Young Men's Christian Association was founded, missionaries were called to far lands, total abstinence pledges were signed, and the sale of Bibles rose sharply. Viewing these extraordinary and encouraging signs, a professor in an address to the alumni in 1860 exclaimed, "By this token, I am persuaded that Virginia will prosper."<sup>21</sup> About the same time, however, another Virginian sourly asked where were the arts and sciences, "and saddest yet—where is our *literature*?"<sup>22</sup> This narrative is instinct with evidence of a fundamental transition in the Southern mind which by repudiating Jeffersonian intellectualism has left a scar on the higher learning at the South to this hour.<sup>23</sup>

great experience and high reputation as a lecturer on moral science, and strongly recommended to the board by several of the most intelligent and influential citizens of western Virginia." In announcing the appointment of Professor Minor to succeed Henry St. George Tucker in the law department, the Rector observed that he had been recommended by citizens on both sides of the mountains.

<sup>20</sup> Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia*, III, 90, 135. Mark Sullivan, *Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925* (New York, 1926-1935), II, 10-48, is a brilliant treatment of the influence of McGuffey on the American mind.

<sup>21</sup> Sadie Bell, *The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1930), 384-91.

<sup>22</sup> "The University: Its Character and Wants," in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXII (1856), 243.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865* (A. M. Schlesinger and

Professor Tucker's career, extending from the Revolution to the Civil War, was distinguished by many evidences of authentic scholarship and it particularly invites the attention of the student of the intellectual history of the Old South. During the period of his professorship at the University, he published a two-volume life of Thomas Jefferson, a treatise on political economy, a volume on money and banking, a statistical analysis of the census returns to 1840, collaborated with English scholars on a book descriptive of America, and gave significant addresses before learned societies. Moreover, his retirement and advancing years did not spell sterility. At Philadelphia, he continued his writing, publishing a four-volume history of the United States, a second treatise on political economy, a penetrating discussion of the banking situation after the panic of 1857, and a final volume of collected essays. He also entered freely into the cultural life of Philadelphia and was a member and officer of the American Philosophical Society and a contributor to its learned publications.<sup>24</sup> In addition to his work in the social sciences, he showed an interest in the natural sciences and some creative aptitude in psychology.<sup>25</sup> Finally in the realm of pure literature his work, ignored

D. R. Fox [eds.], *A History of American Life* [New York, 1927—], VII), 56. In a public address in 1826, William Maxwell of Hampden-Sydney College gave his ideal of Virginia society as a Utopia where there was a chicken in every pot and a Bible in every hand. In 1828, Daniel Bryan recited a forty-page ode devoted to the thesis that although the humanities were "skilled and prompt to rouse the fervours of the youthful soul in quest of classic glory," they were, nevertheless, defective in moral training. The appointed cure for this condition was "the Gospel's holy truths." James M. Garnett set forth to the young ladies under his wing that the "primary object" of education was "to prepare yourself for another and better world," while a "secondary object" was the "study of science and language."

<sup>24</sup> He had been a member since 1837 and during the last six years of his life he served as a member of the council. American Philosophical Society MSS.

<sup>25</sup> In 1836, he conducted an experiment on the Siamese twins, Cheng and Eng, who were then touring the United States. Turning aside from a biography of Thomas Jefferson, he followed them to New York, where he observed them for "light on the several theories which have been put forth to explain the diversities of genius and mental character." By means of an intelligence test, he examined them in whispers. The data was presented before the American Philosophical Society in 1841 (*Proceedings*, II [1841-1842], 22-24). Dr. John Patten Emmet, who wrote a paper challenging the Newtonian theory of gravitation, interested Tucker in his experiments, and Tucker went to London in 1841 in an attempt to find a publisher. Thomas A. Emmet, *A Memoir of John*

by textbooks on the history of American literature, was an example of the pioneer striving of the American genius and showed an imaginative power and sense of humor usually unsuspected among professors of the dismal science.<sup>26</sup> His particular talents, however, lay in the more sober realm of history and economics.

The chair assigned to Professor Tucker at the University of Virginia was officially known as Moral Philosophy and embraced in general the modern departments of English, philosophy, and economics.<sup>27</sup> Traditionally, in colleges of the period, moral philosophy was a chair adorned by the president of the institution, usually a clergyman, who lectured on what was called "moral science," which was actually a course in apologetics following the textbooks of William Paley.<sup>28</sup> Jefferson, however, who, like Franklin, had small respect for the orthodox clerical chair of moral science, fashioned his department along the lines of modern social science. Economics, or political economy, as it was more commonly called, dated from the work of the Physiocrats of the eighteenth century and the most significant of the early treatises was that of Adam Smith. For a generation thereafter until the time of John Stuart Mill the disciples of Adam Smith elaborated his principles into a system of economics usually classified as orthodox or classical. This school of economic the-

*Patten Emmet* (New York, 1898), 45. Tucker wrote a memoir of Emmet, now available in the Toner Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>26</sup> In 1814 and 1815, he published a series of essays in the *Port-Folio*. These were later revised and issued, with some additions, as a volume: *Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals, and National Policy* (Philadelphia, 1822). An anonymous satire appeared in 1816: *Letters from Virginia—Translated from the French* (Baltimore, 1816). This has been variously attributed to James K. Paulding, William Maxwell, and Tucker. "They were, in fact, written in English by Professor Tucker" (Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books relating to America* [New York, 1868—], X, 282). He also wrote two novels: *Valley of the Shenandoah* (New York, 1824), and *A Voyage to the Moon*; . . . (New York, 1827).

<sup>27</sup> *Journal and Documents of the House of Delegates, 1840-1841*, no. 20, p. 34. Political economy was offered in the last semester of the senior year from the texts of Say and Smith.

<sup>28</sup> The principal works of Paley were: *Evidences of Christianity*, 2 vols. (London, 1794); *Moral and Political Philosophy* (London, 1785); and *Natural Theology* (London, 1802). Thomas R. Dew used these texts at William and Mary College.

ory, whose major principle was the doctrine of laissez-faire, tended to dominate the minds of European and American thinkers.<sup>29</sup>

In general, Professor Tucker's economic ideas conformed to the laissez-faire concepts of the orthodox economists. He espoused a system "where every one can freely exercise his talents or his capital and securely enjoy the fruits they have yielded." He asserted that "nothing is so injurious to national prosperity as too much regulation" and he extolled the "sagacity of individuals."<sup>30</sup> In economics, however, as in theology, the Devil has often quoted Scripture for his purpose. If Jefferson in his first inaugural advocated a government which would leave men "free to regulate their own pursuits," he also said in a forgotten passage that it should "not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned" and implied that it should see that no one else did so.<sup>31</sup> And in the matter of the embargo he not only regulated commerce but virtually abolished it when the goal was American peace. Professor Tucker, likewise, could perceive the necessity of state intervention in the public interest. For instance, on the subject of banking, which was one of the earliest of the new phenomena of the industrial revolution, he did not fall into the error of some classical economists who held that there was no more need for government regulation of the issue of paper money than there was for regulating the production of potatoes.<sup>32</sup> Citing the great Adam Smith himself, Tucker urged "that those exertions of the natural liberty of a few individuals which might endanger the security of the whole society, are and ought to be restrained by the laws."<sup>33</sup> He was, therefore, a classical economist with reservations.

<sup>29</sup> John K. Ingram, *A History of Political Economy* (New York, 1894); O. F. Boucke, *The Development of Economics* (New York, 1921); Lewis H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought* (New York, 1911).

<sup>30</sup> "A Discourse on the Progress of Philosophy and its Influence on the Intellectual and Moral Character of Man," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, I (1834-1835), 409.

<sup>31</sup> James D. Richardson (ed.), *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902* (Washington, 1903), I, 323.

<sup>32</sup> L. C. Helderman, *National and State Banks: A Study of Their Origins* (Boston, 1931), 147.

<sup>33</sup> George Tucker, *Theory of Money and Banks Investigated* (Boston, 1839).

One of the chief tenets of the classical school was the Malthusian doctrine of population. In 1798, Thomas Malthus, an English curate, announced his hard law that population tended to increase faster than food supply—the former by geometric, the latter by arithmetic, progression. This fatal tendency was checked by such calamities as war, famine, and disease, and by such preventive restraints as abstention from marriage and children or the postponement of marriage. Such was the pessimistic outlook for human society which earned for political economy the unflattering sobriquet of “the dismal science.” Naturally, such views were distasteful to the sanguine temperament of Americans as they viewed the great expanse of cheap land to the West and speculated on the dictum of America as a land of opportunity and a refuge for the oppressed. Thomas Jefferson, standing at the new Capitol in a raw March wind at the beginning of the century, could exclaim that America was the world’s best hope and that there was “room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation”—and that too when our possessions reached to the Mississippi but not to the Gulf.<sup>34</sup> Nor did the average American family warm to the theory of preventive restraints, but chose, rather, the biblical injunction to multiply and replenish the earth. And so Tucker in the flush of nationalism and manifest destiny in the early part of the century found the Malthusian doctrine at war with his instincts of optimism and growth. His essay on *Density of Population*, written in 1813, was a pioneer American criticism of Malthus.<sup>35</sup> While conceding that the theory taught some useful lessons, he believed Malthus had pushed it too far by attributing misery and vice “to predestined laws of nature” rather than to “human habits and institutions.” He protested against this “gloomy and disheartening picture of the condition of man” and urged the contrary view that human happiness was likely to increase with the growth of population. Later, however, upon closer study of the Malthusian essay, he was led to revise his earlier view and came to believe

<sup>34</sup> Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I, 323.

<sup>35</sup> *Port-Folio*, XIV (1815), 164-75. See also Joseph J. Spengler, “Population Doctrines in the United States,” in *Journal of Political Economy*, XLI (1933), 433-67, 639-72.

that the theory was "in the main true"—although merely as a tendency which could be ameliorated or postponed by "prudential restraints," improvement of agriculture, and the growth of foreign commerce.<sup>86</sup> His changing attitude toward the theory was caused by his reflections on the slavery problem, for he saw in it some hope for the eventual death of the institution by the operation of economic law.

Other basic principles of the classical theory were those of David Ricardo, who directed his attention to the problem of the distribution of wealth. He derived certain laws regulating the returns to land, labor, and capital, chief of which were the differential law of rent and the iron law of wages. The Ricardian theory of rent started from the Malthusian assumption and supposed that as population grew there was a tendency to resort to poorer soils and a more intensive cultivation of land. Rent, therefore, arose from the productivity differential of marginal and richer soil and would rise with increasing population. His theory of wages, commonly called the iron law of wages, supposed that as population grew wages tended to fall to the level of minimum subsistence.

Tucker gave his criticism of the Ricardian doctrines in a brief treatise based on his lectures at the University.<sup>87</sup> He thought "that Mr. Ricardo, although possessing merit of a very high order as a writer on political economy, and entitled to all of his reputation for a thorough knowledge of the subject of money and finance, is mistaken in his elementary principles of the science." Specifically, he believed that "the origin and progress of rents admits of a more simple and natural explanation," and that "his theory of wages is inconsistent with itself and that of profits contradicted by the whole history of capital in the civilized world." Neither the diversity of quality nor the limitation of quantity of land were explanations of rent. He proposed rather the labor-exchange theory that rent "depends on the quantity of labor which the cultivator can

<sup>86</sup> These revised views were set forth in lengthy correspondence with Alexander H. Everett in the *Democratic Review* (Washington), XVII (1845), 298-302, 379-89, 438-41; XXII (1848), 11-18.

<sup>87</sup> George Tucker, *The Laws of Wages, Profits and Rent Investigated* (Philadelphia, 1837). See also *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (New York), II (1840), 89-100, 210-22, 441-50.

receive for his own labor when expended on his own land." His objection to the iron law of wages was not that it supposed wages to fall to minimum subsistence but that such point was assumed as the limit beyond which they could not fall. One cannot avoid the conclusion, however, that Tucker's dissent sprang from his search for some solution to the slavery problem. An amended doctrine of Ricardian distribution was he came to believe that solution, but even here it must be observed that he held to the Malthusian theory and applied the idea of nonintervention at the moment when events were taking the solution from the hands of economic theory.

Like Jefferson, Tucker considered slavery to be a social and economic evil.<sup>88</sup> It was, he believed, not only an inefficient labor system, but also it discouraged the growth of manufacturing and immigration by placing "a stigma on bodily labor." For these reasons it tended to decrease "the productive wealth of a community," and caused the slaveholding states to be "less populous, less wealthy and improved than New England, New York and Pennsylvania." Its social effects were no less serious. The habit of command, it was true, fitted the Southerner for leadership and produced a certain narrow culture based on manners, but this very factor led to a neglect of letters and science—points noted by Emerson and Henry Adams and contrasting sharply with Calhoun's thesis of Southern leisure as the basis of culture.<sup>89</sup> Tucker, therefore, held that

<sup>88</sup> His slavery theories are best illustrated in his *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*, . . . 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1837), I, 112-20; *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth* (Boston, 1843), chap. XIII; *Political Economy for the People* (Philadelphia, 1859), 82-90; *The History of the United States*, . . . 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1856-1857), IV, 426-33.

<sup>89</sup> Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1909-1914), IV, 312-13; VIII, 100-101, 142. Emerson wrote that he had never seen an awkward Carolinian and he freely conceded to the average Southerner charm of manners, but he found him "good for nothing else" and as dumb as "an Indian in a church" in any very profound discussion. After observing a trio of tall genial Virginians at Harvard in the fifties, Henry Adams concluded that they were no scholars and as little fitted for the sharp demands of college "as Sioux Indians." *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1918), 56-59. Calhoun had asserted in 1837 that "In one thing only are we inferior—the arts of gain." Richard K. Crallé, *The Works of John C. Calhoun* (New York, 1854-1860), II, 631.



slavery was a positive evil and its ultimate extinction "certain and irrevocable."

This extinction, however, would come about by the operation of economic law rather than forced emancipation. Left to itself in the orderly processes of time the institution would die a natural death. This process which he called the "euthanasia of slavery" was as inevitable in America as the passing of serfdom in Europe. It was here that he applied his economic theories. The fall in the price of labor and returns to land caused by increasing population and soil exhaustion would reach a certain point when "the value of a slave will not repay the cost of rearing him, in which case slavery will naturally expire." This point he estimated would be reached in less than a century. He refused to believe that the rising price of slaves in the decade prior to the Civil War contradicted this hypothesis. This was a temporary phenomenon caused by the rapid development of the cotton belt and European demand which might delay but not prevent the eventual death of the institution. Other factors which he conceded might further delay the event were expansion of the cotton area, use of slavery in manufacturing, or the development in the South of some new agricultural staple such as sugar cane or silk. The institution, however, was doomed by economic law to a creeping paralysis beginning in the upper South and spreading into the Gulf states.

Naturally, therefore, he regarded the rising abolitionist movement with disfavor. He held as did Webster in the great debate of 1850 that it was the work of sentimentalists rather than knaves—unstable zealots with quick but misguided sympathies who refused to face the grim realities. He saw the adverse effects of the agitation as tending to silence the indigenous emancipation views which had long been current in the South, "and its advocates among the slaveholders, who have not changed their sentiments, find it prudent to conceal them." Indeed, there was a growing tendency for Southern leaders to task "their ingenuity to show that slavery is not only legitimate and moral, but wise and expedient." The slave himself had not profited by the agitation, for the

movement in the South toward "progressive amelioration of his condition has been arrested . . . and has in some instances been made worse." The recriminations and irritations which had arisen between the sections "have afforded new means of gaining popular favor, which crafty politicians on both sides have gladly seized; and the dissensions thus inflamed induce those who look with evil eyes on the future strength and greatness of this republican confederacy to indulge in vain hopes of its dissolution." Such had been the result of this agitation "and the fable of the Wind and the Sun never more forcefully illustrated the difference between gentle and violent means of influencing men's minds."

The idea of emancipation coupled with social equality or amalgamation was of course utterly impracticable—a proposal which seemed "very easy to those who have never lived in a country in which negro slavery prevails, and who cannot justly estimate the rooted and irreconcilable prejudices to which this relation between two distinct races gives rise." The Southern whites, he insisted, "will never purposely resort to this cure of the evil. . . . Nay, more when they contemplate this possibility, they will do all they can to prevent what is so repugnant to their feelings." The terrible race conflicts of "the Saracenic and Gothic races in Spain; and yet more recently between the blacks and whites of St. Domingo which ended only in the extermination of the weaker party, seems to be too much in accordance with the ordinary principles of our nature not to warn us against so fearful an experiment." These views were based on purely practical considerations and did not involve the scientific question whether the Negro was inherently an inferior race. On the purely ethnological question he found, unlike Jefferson, that there was little data to draw a conclusion and urged that environment should be considered in explaining the failure of the Negro to produce anything in art and science. The Negro infants before becoming conscious of inferior station showed as alert and dominant traits as their white playmates, while in some activities open to them such as "musicians, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., they are often successful competitors of the whites." In a book published in London, he

wrote: "They are generally thought by the whites to be inferior to themselves in intellect, but the fact can scarcely be considered as proved."<sup>40</sup>

His most effective writing of an economic nature was on the subject of money and banking and is best illustrated by a volume of lectures at the University.<sup>41</sup> The first part of the volume undertook an analysis of the nature and functions of money together with a consideration of the arguments for and against a single or double standard. Writers on political economy since the time of Locke had generally conceded the superiority of a single standard although only England and Russia had at that time adopted it—the former gold, the latter silver. The policy of the United States from the beginning had been a bimetallic standard with a ratio fixed by law in 1834 at 16:1 altering an earlier ratio of 15:1. The two stock arguments for a single standard were that it better maintained stability of contracts and more adequately provided for a supply of the two metals. Tucker gave a thorough examination of the possible contingencies of fluctuation under a single and double standard and emerged with the conclusion that bimetallism offered greater chances of injustice to creditors than debtors. He did not consider this the basic objection, however, since on account of the slowness of change only long time contracts would be affected and more especially because the loss would "fall on the party best able to bear it." The argument for a single standard, therefore, rested primarily on the fact that it better provided for "an adequate supply of both metals." If a choice were made for a single standard, however, it was his opinion that silver was preferable since he supposed it was less likely to fluctuate. One must realize that he was arguing on this point from the background of a century ago before the gold discoveries in California,<sup>42</sup> the flight of

<sup>40</sup> George Long, George R. Porter, and George Tucker, *America and the West Indies Geographically Described* (London, 1841, 1845), 223-24.

<sup>41</sup> *Theory of Money and Banks Investigated*. His earliest writing on the subject, "On Banks of Circulation," had been published in the *Port-Folio*, XIII (1815), 416-28.

<sup>42</sup> In 1850, he read a paper before the American Philosophical Society on the probable effects of the California discoveries, drawing his suppositions from the effect which the discovery of America had upon the ratio of the metals. He predicted that gold would fall

silver and its demonetization in 1873, and that long debate over money that ran through the greenback, free silver, and gold standard controversies and which echoes on the Potomac to this hour.

The second part of this volume was devoted to the nature and functions of banks. He classified banks as of two types—banks of deposit and banks of circulation or issue. A bank of deposit was one which took specie on deposit and issued receipts or bank money therefor, keeping the total on deposit and subject to withdrawal on demand. Historically this had been the first to develop at important commercial centers in Europe—first in the twelfth century at Venice followed by the Bank of Amsterdam, Bank of Hamburg, and similar institutions at Rotterdam and Nuremburg. The Bank of England, however, at the end of the seventeenth century had been established as a bank of circulation. The basic principle of this type of banking was that instead of retaining all specie deposited in its vaults it retained only a reserve of about one-third and loaned out the remainder. This credit bank principle had been borrowed in America in the two United States banks and in the various state bank systems although due to the secrecy of the Bank of England, it had only recently been learned that it employed the famous rule of a thirty-three and one-third per cent specie reserve. American institutions usually ignoring this prudent banking principle had spread financial disaster in the panics which accompanied the industrial order. It is easy to comprehend, therefore, the Jeffersonian belief that banks of issue were as dangerous as standing armies and the growth of a strong sentiment for bullionism or banks of deposit of the historic continental type.<sup>48</sup>

Professor Tucker defended the credit bank as an institution as much in advance of the deposit bank as the railroad was an advance on the turnpike. But, recognizing the principle of economic relativity, just as

from the ratio of 16:1 to as low as 10:1; that gold standard countries would find that creditors were injured and debtors benefitted, a result which could be prevented by making silver legal tender; that a rapid settlement of the Pacific Coast would follow; and that there was danger from rapid expansion of bank credit in the coming decade. *Proceedings*, V (1848-1853), 148-50.

<sup>48</sup> Helderman, *National and State Banks*, 101-32.

the railroad needed more caution and regulation than the horse and buggy, so also must the state regulate the bank of issue with stricter safeguards. He, therefore, proposed a series of safeguards for the social control of credit. These consisted of requirements for a paid in capital of at least \$100,000 before allowing a charter, a limit on circulation as in the Bank of England, a graduated expropriation of dividends above six per cent, interest on suspended bills rising from twelve per cent per annum, a limit on director loans and frequent rotation of directors, a limit on duration of charters from ten to twenty years, and the creation of two or more banks in each community to prevent monopoly. Finally he suggested abandoning the traditional air of mystery and secrecy concerning their affairs, and requiring regular reports of condition and periodical inspection by some public authority. It was a cogent analysis and a compendium of the best banking thought of the day. His *laissez-faire* theories did not stand in the way of a recognition of the larger social necessity of regulating the individual in his control over a business affected with a public interest.

On the highly controversial subject of the United States Bank he was not a fanatic advocate. The Jacksonian charges and arguments against it he held to be largely but not entirely nonsense. Its constitutionality he accepted as established, it was a salutary check on overissue of state banks, it was a convenience to the government for collection, safekeeping and disbursing its funds, and it would strengthen the national credit and be of immense value in a moment of national crisis. Although complete national control of banking would be desirable, it would be inexpedient in view of the powerful Jacksonian antipathy to it. As an alternative he proposed the creation of three national banks at the larger commercial centers—an early suggestion of the idea of federalism in banking as a middle ground between the need for uniformity and the fear of monopoly.

In 1842, Tucker proposed an interesting system of a national currency in which the Federal government would borrow specie on the credit of the public lands. This specie was to be used as a reserve for a

national currency which would be loaned to the states at four per cent for distribution to banks if they would agree to issue no paper money of their own.<sup>44</sup>

His final discussion of the bank question was contained in an article published in 1858 when the hard times resulting from the panic were reviving the recurrent hostility to banks.<sup>45</sup> During the history of banks of issue in America there had been nine suspensions with serious consequences to all classes. These were due to the gross imprudence of the institutions and to the lack of regulations. In their rush for profits the banks had ignored the sound rule of the Bank of England regarding reserves and during the recent speculative mania their reserves had reached the record low of seven to one, while dividends had risen to ten and twelve per cent. Such reckless policy and "disregard of the interests of the community" was a powerful argument for their abolition and a return "to an exclusive metallic currency." Still he believed it "easier and better to reform than abolish them." His remedies, largely those suggested twenty years before, were more stringent. Due to the growing deposit function of banks, he suggested that reserves be held against total liability rather than merely against circulation. He called attention to the power of the Bank of England over the discount rate and suggested the possibility of its use in America in the future. Finally, the aged economist whose writings for forty years had defended banks, burst forth with a flash of Jacksonian rhetoric as he lashed the bankers of Chestnut Street as "money changers" obtuse to social responsibility.

As an economist, George Tucker has been sadly neglected. He gave pioneer criticisms of the Malthusian theory and the Ricardian doctrine of rent. His mind penetrated deeply into the economic, social, and racial aspects of the slavery problem. In the field of money and banking, unlike the orthodox "sound money" economist who, as Francis A. Walker long ago observed, was concerned mainly with the cred-

<sup>44</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, VI (1842), 433-39.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXVIII (1858), 147-57.

itor,<sup>46</sup> Professor Tucker saw the adverse effects of fluctuation on the debtor. He gave a cogent defense of the utility of credit institutions as a natural phenomenon of the growing complexity of a modern economic society, proposed methods of control in the public interest, including a graduated income tax, saw the importance of the deposit function, and anticipated the future control over the discount rate. His suggestion of federalism as the compromise between national uniformity and Jacksonian fear of centralization was the route taken by subsequent legislation. In economic theory, he recognized the principle of economic relativity—that changing conditions altered the efficacy of *laissez faire*. Although he demonstrated powers of keen and original analysis, it cannot be said, however, that he showed a marked disposition to revolt from the classical doctrines. It is doubtful, indeed, if he went as far in dissent as John Stuart Mill who, as his mind ripened and his conscience awoke, came to advocate a large measure of state interference. Due to the peculiar frontier character of America, however, its economic theory no less than its social policy was long held captive by the ruthless individualism of classicism long after it was in decline in Europe. Only toward the end of the century did a younger group of thinkers begin to question seriously its basic premise of a passive state and even then William Graham Sumner from his chair at Yale thundered the orthodox dogmas. A recent writer who has critically surveyed the literature of early American economics has classified Tucker "as one of the ablest American economists under review, if not one of the ablest thinkers on the subject that this country has produced."<sup>47</sup>

In addition to his work in economics Professor Tucker deserves consideration as an historian. When he became a professor at the University of Virginia, history had not yet been dignified as a separate branch of study in American institutions of learning, nor was it pursued

<sup>46</sup> Francis A. Walker, *The Tide of Economic Thought* (New York, 1891), 16-17. This is his presidential address before the first meeting of the American Economics Association, December 20, 1890. The address also contains significant comments on the decline of *laissez faire*.

<sup>47</sup> John Roscoe Turner, *The Ricardian Rent Theory in Early American Economics* (New York, 1921), 109.

with any objectivity as an avocation. Neither George Bancroft nor Richard Hildreth had yet published a volume of their histories. In Virginia, John Smith had travelled to far shores and related of marvels, Parson Weems had conjured up a Washington of appalling rectitude, William Wirt had drawn a portrait of Patrick Henry that was the delight of the orator and the patriot, and the muse had inspired other scribblers to set pen to paper on historic themes. Moreover, voices in the Old Dominion were already commencing to extol her historic past, relics were being assembled for the adoration of the pious pilgrim, tired old gentlemen were assiduously tracing down the dubious family tree, and many a descendant of an indentured servant was boasting a pedigree that ran back to William the Conqueror. Clio, however, was still unrescued from her traditional enemies. Her documents were prey to the ravages of fire and rats, the tightly guarded possessions of descendants, or else were commencing that melancholy exodus to large libraries as the patriot grew mortified and indignant at assumptions of New England priority. The sorry plight of scientific history in Virginia was never more clearly revealed than when William Maxwell donated to the Virginia Historical Society the very pistol which John Smith used in slaying the Turk at the siege of Regall. As a correspondent of Professor Tucker observed as late as 1837, there was not a history of Virginia worthy of the name.<sup>48</sup>

Professor Tucker was aware of all these things, and in an address in 1835 made an earnest if unheeded plea for the collection of "the perishable memorials of the past history of Virginia" to be found in the archives of England, the records of the county courts, and in the private possession of families. And in a remarkable passage he gave his philosophy of history—what is now called the New History but was even then the Old. If the function of history had formerly been to narrate purely political and military events, it was now "to make us acquainted with

<sup>48</sup> An article signed "B," on "Literature of Virginia," addressed "To Professor Tucker of the University," in *Southern Literary Messenger*, IV (1838), 684-89. It was obviously inspired by Tucker's address of December 19, 1837, before the Charlottesville Museum, printed in *ibid.*, 81-88.



the progress of society and the arts of civilization; with the advancement and decline of religion, literature, laws, manners and commerce."<sup>49</sup>

His first important work of an historical nature was a two-volume biography of Thomas Jefferson.<sup>50</sup> An authentic life of so important a figure written so soon after his death presented many difficulties, chief of which were access to the sources and the maintenance of an attitude of objectivity. It would be no easy task to preserve this attitude in dealing with the life of a personality already part of the very life of the institution in which he taught and in the nature of things fast assuming legendary proportions. So profound was the respect of the University for its founder that anything in the nature of criticism would be re-sented.

The occasion of the biography was the revival of attacks on Jefferson which had arisen originally in the period of his public life and had quieted in the period of his retirement. The renewal of these attacks was caused by the publication of some of Jefferson's private letters shortly after his death. His papers had been left in the possession of his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, who had issued a selected and somewhat injudicious publication.<sup>51</sup> These papers contained reflections on certain persons written during the period of high partisan feeling when the rising Jeffersonian movement was overwhelming the Federalist party in the closing years of the eighteenth century. One of those was General Henry Lee, who as a strong Federalist, had very naturally come to grips with Jefferson over the burning issues of the day. Opportunities had arisen for hot words and in one of his letters now published for the first time, Jefferson had alluded to Lee as "a miserable tergiversator." The Randolph publication unfortunately revived some of the bitterness of an older generation and General Lee's son, Major

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, I (1834-1835), 405-21. An address before the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society at Richmond, February 5, 1835. See also *ibid.*, XI (1845), 96.

<sup>50</sup> See p. 160; n. 38.

<sup>51</sup> Thomas Jefferson Randolph (ed.), *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 3 vols. (Charlottesville, 1829.)

Henry Lee, popularly known by the unflattering title of "Black-Horse Harry," undertook a hot-tempered assault on the memory of Jefferson. He repeated the various charges that had been made against him during his lifetime—cowardice in the Revolution, disloyalty to Washington, lack of religion, cheating on the Declaration of Independence, and consorting with such dubious characters as Thomas Paine.<sup>52</sup>

Professor Tucker undertook a critical life of Jefferson and the resulting work shows evidence of indefatigable research and balanced judgment. He had access to all the papers of the Randolph collection which subsequently found their way into the Library of Congress and other libraries. In using this material he had the assistance of Nicholas P. Trist, private secretary to Jefferson, and James Madison, who took a keen interest in the undertaking.<sup>53</sup> "In all matters of doubt," Tucker acknowledged, "the author has had his clear and able elucidations. Many of the interesting facts were derived directly from him and nearly the whole of the first volume was submitted to his inspection and received the benefit of his corrections as to matters of fact." The biography was dedicated to Madison and contains his letter of acceptance—the last act of his pen. From Jefferson's daughter, Mrs. Randolph, the author received "minute information of his private and domestic life both when in France and in this country." John Page, son of Governor John Page, Tucker's former associate at the Richmond bar and Jefferson's college chum, supplied letters of the William and Mary days.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Lee, *Observations on the Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1832). A second edition (Philadelphia, 1839) was issued with footnotes by Charles Carter Lee criticising Tucker's biography. An anonymous clergyman made an attack on the biography in the *New York Review and Quarterly Church Journal*, March, 1837. He accused Tucker of giving too favorable an interpretation of Jefferson's religious views. Tucker replied to this in *A Defence of the Character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1838), an effective and dignified castigation. The history of the attacks on Jefferson on the score of religion is given in William D. Gould, "The Religious Opinions of Thomas Jefferson," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XX (1933-1934), 191-208. See also a letter from Tucker to Henry S. Randall, May 28, 1856, in Henry S. Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1858), III, 467.

<sup>53</sup> Madison was in frequent correspondence with Tucker from 1830 until his death. See *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison* (Philadelphia, 1865), IV, 70, 198, 302, 435. On April 30, 1830, Madison wrote that the biography (of Jefferson) "will be a good subject in good hands." *Ibid.*, 70.

Mrs. John Marks, mother of Meriwether Lewis, gave recollections of Jefferson's early life. The author, moreover, was in correspondence with many living public men, including John Randolph and John Quincy Adams. John Quincy Adams, indeed, spent a whole day in the delightful task of looking up data proving Jefferson to have been in error in claiming as a Virginia invention the Revolutionary Committee of Correspondence—a claim which he regarded as comparable to the claim of Vespucci to the discovery of America.<sup>54</sup> For the period of Jefferson's public life and retirement, Tucker "found ample materials in the public records of the country," and in his own personal knowledge, having known him since 1799, and rather intimately since 1825.

His objectivity was equal to his command of the sources. It is frankly a sympathetic view of Jefferson but it is not a eulogy and shows no tendency toward partisan or sectional rancor. "The author was aware," he avowed, "that in undertaking to write the life of one who was the object of such lively and opposite sentiments, he was engaged in a hazardous task. He knew that with one portion of the public, any praise would be distasteful; and with another portion, nothing less than an unvarying strain of eulogy would prove satisfactory." It was his belief, however, "that he has neither withheld censure from those with whom he was politically associated, nor been niggardly in his praise of their opponents; and lastly, that in his view of Mr. Jefferson's opinions . . . he has not hesitated to arraign at the bar of reason, such as appeared to him erroneous."

Points in the Jeffersonian philosophy from which he felt obliged to dissent were certain convictions and prejudices touching the value of cities, commerce, banks, and national debts which may be broadly classified as agrarianism. Jefferson, who as a rawboned farmer lad rode away to Williamsburg in 1760, had never seen a village of above a hundred souls. As governor of Virginia twenty years later he wrote in his *Notes on Virginia* that those who labored in the earth were the Chosen People. For the last thirty years of his life he was not seen in a Northern

<sup>54</sup> Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IX, 156-57, 158-59.

city, and for retirement chose a chateau which rose on a high hill whence so far as the eye could reach no city smoke darkened the looming plain. The agrarian philosophy, echoing down the years of Southern and Western thought, regarded cities as sores on the body politic, national debts as a swindle on posterity, and banks and tariffs as devices by which an industrial civilization oppressed agriculture. Although Tucker agreed that the tariff was a system of taxation operating against the interests of all classes except manufacturers and was especially oppressive of agriculture,<sup>55</sup> on the whole he dissented from the agrarian view. The utility of cities was defended because they made for the growth of manufacturing, national strength, and the leisure precedent to the development of literature and art. The notion that virtue, honor, and happiness reside peculiarly in a rural society and vanish with the advent of cities and commerce, he dismissed as a mere dogma. Crime, poverty, vice, and misery were, he believed, as likely in a rural culture as in an urban. The Hamiltonian idea of a national debt as a national blessing he regarded as more true than the Jeffersonian preference for a balanced budget.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, unlike Jefferson, he passed his declining years in the large metropolis of Philadelphia, rather than in a rural retreat of Albemarle County.

This work cannot be called a brilliant or definitive life of Jefferson, but it is solid and sober and cannot be ignored by the future biographer. He preserved a judicial poise in dealing with the man and his times and approached his subject neither from the Hamiltonian nor the Jeffersonian tradition. If Hamilton does not stalk through his pages as villain or

<sup>55</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, IV (1841), 506-28. He believed, however, that an import duty for revenue only was preferable to a direct tax, and that a protective duty was justifiable for infant industries on the basis of effective competition. As a member of Congress he had attacked the protective tariff as unconstitutional as well as an inequitable system of taxation.

<sup>56</sup> He first expressed this view in his essay "On National Debts," in *Port-Folio*, XIV (1815), 574-90. He thought that Jefferson and Madison had been right, however, in opposing the plan of Hamilton to fund the national debt at par for the existing holders. Under this plan the original holders had lost to crafty speculators. He did not think the difficulty of identifying the original holders was an insuperable objection. *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, I, 322-23.

superman, neither does Jefferson appear as the repository of all political wisdom. There is no innuendo such as Beveridge casts of a want of courage in the Revolution, no implication of "failure and flight" in 1809 as given by Channing, no phrase such as Henry Adams uses to describe the Louisiana Purchase, "receiver of stolen goods," no animus such as Roosevelt shows in writing of the pacific Jefferson, the advocate of small navies and economic sanctions. The biography is more favorable to Hamilton than Randall or Bowers, more critical than Parton, and less laudatory than Watson or Williams. It obviously deserves a higher compliment than Channing's estimate that it "gives the Virginia view."<sup>57</sup>

Tucker's last work of historical nature was a four-volume history of the United States to 1841.<sup>58</sup> This was written during his retirement at Philadelphia and is the least satisfactory of his works, seldom rising above a sketchy resume of presidential messages and congressional debates. In no sense can it be ranked with the histories of Bancroft or Hildreth, but it does not as one reviewer said, merely present American history "from the Southern point of view."<sup>59</sup> Its most important part is contained in the closing pages of the final volume where he dwells on the value and importance of the Union. Long an advocate of the Union<sup>60</sup> he warned of the dangers of dissolution through the "misap-

<sup>57</sup> Edward Channing, *The Jeffersonian System, 1801-1811* (A. B. Hart [ed.], *The American Nation: A History*, XII [New York, 1906]), 275. Lord Brougham gave a very favorable review in the *Edinburgh Review* (New York), LXVI (1837-1838), 82-98. The biography, he said, was "drawn from authentic sources of information, and given with a singular freedom from partiality." *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>58</sup> *A History of the United States*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1856-1858).

<sup>59</sup> *North American Review* (Boston), LXXXVIII (1859), 280.

<sup>60</sup> His essay "On the Future Destiny of the United States," in *Port-Folio*, XII (1814), 382-97, was published when Americans everywhere were thinking on the grand theme. He predicted a territorial expansion westward to the limits of Mexico, a shift of power and possibly the national capital to the West, the migration of manufacturing to the Middle West, and the transition of America from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation. The possibility of dismemberment he repudiated, arguing that the necessity of national sea power to protect the Mississippi outlet would bind the South and West to the rest of the nation. On April 2, 1844, he gave an address before the newly organized National Institute for the Promotion of Science at Washington, D. C. His paper, which followed the famous paper of Mathew Fontaine Maury on ocean currents, was devoted to

plied sympathies" of the abolitionist. The Southern people, "born and bred in communities allowing negro slavery which the present generation had no agency in producing," were fearful, as Jefferson long ago observed, that "an amalgamation of the two races would, sooner or later, be the result of emancipation." The Southern whites, "believing the black to be an inferior race, as they honestly do, look at this issue as the direst of all alternatives, and they are ready to resist it at every hazard." Nevertheless, the idea of dissolution was futile for, anticipating Lincoln's first inaugural, he asked, "Where is the line of separation to be drawn?" This nation was increasingly an economic and geographical unit and the idea of its dissolution was "as impracticable as it is wicked and foolish." Twenty years earlier in a prophetic passage, he had warned that "the question of *separation* will always be a question of *war*. *The constitutional question* will be drowned in the din and tumult of arms and finally decided by the issue of the war. *Victory* is the great arbiter of right in national disputes."<sup>61</sup>

Late in the year 1860, Professor Tucker began a tour of observation into the South as the political conditions of the nation were approaching a crisis. In February, 1861, he wrote from Savannah that he was heartsick at the outlook and sensed a state of mind comparable to that on the eve of the French Revolution when men, "crazed at the fancies of imaginary wrongs and their strange remedies," ran about shouting that the brigands were coming. At Mobile he suffered an accident and was removed to the home of his son-in-law, George Rives, near Charlottesville in Albemarle County, Virginia. Here he died April 10, 1861, and the guns of Fort Sumter were roaring as this last of the Jeffersonian professors was buried in the cemetery of the University of Virginia.<sup>62</sup> He was not called upon to make the difficult choice of the Southern Whig in that grim hour of decision.

"The Dangers Most to be Guarded against in the Future Progress of the United States." *Proceedings* (1845), no. 3, p. 430. The *National Intelligencer*, April 3, 1844, said that it was "an able paper of much length."

<sup>61</sup> "Discourse on the Progress of Philosophy," in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, I (1834-1835), 421.

<sup>62</sup> Dunglison, "Obituary Notice of Professor Tucker," *loc. cit.*, 69.

# Charles Williamson and the Burr Conspiracy

*By* THOMAS ROBSON HAY

The Burr Conspiracy, so called, forms one of the most involved and mysterious episodes in our early history. Because of its implications and the personalities involved and because it climaxed the dramatic struggle for power between Jefferson, the president, and Burr, a discredited political adventurer, it bulks large in the history of the period. The Conspiracy has been written about by many able students, usually in an effort to isolate and determine Burr's real intent and plans. Recently, a new angle to an understanding of the incident has been suggested by Dr. Isaac J. Cox in his stimulating essay on "The Hispanic-American Phases of the 'Burr Conspiracy.'" An elaboration of the theme of this paper with a discussion of the authority and motives of Charles Williamson, a British agent and a friend of Burr, is the excuse for what follows.

Charles Williamson was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, July 12, 1757. He was a member of a family prominent in local Scotch politics and business and was connected with some of the more prominent Scottish landed gentry of the locality. Early in 1775 he purchased a commission as an ensign in the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Foot and three years later, as a captain, he sailed for the United States to join his regiment. En route the vessel he was on was captured by a French privateer and was taken to Boston, where Williamson was imprisoned until paroled several months later. While on parole he lived with a certain Mr. Newell whose daughter Abigail he married in New London, Connecticut, De-

cember 2, 1781, shortly after his exchange. Soon after the marriage, Williamson and his bride sailed for Scotland where they remained for several years, Williamson being unassigned on half pay.<sup>1</sup>

After some years of farming, relieved by occasional travel tours on the continent of Europe, Williamson was employed by an association of several wealthy men in London who had combined for the purpose of speculating in lands in western New York then being offered for sale by Robert Morris. Sir William Pulteney, John Hornby, and Patrick Colquhoun joined as "The Pulteney Associates" and for £75,000 purchased over one million acres, comprised in what are now Ontario and Steuben counties, from Sir William Temple Franklin, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, who had settled in England and who was acting as legal agent for Robert Morris. A deed of conveyance "for the whole of the Genesee lands" to be sold was signed May 30, 1791, Williamson witnessing the deed as secretary for the purchasers.<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards, because of his knowledge of the country and because of his cultured, affable manner and important contacts and relationships in business and political circles, Williamson was chosen as the American agent of the newly formed association. He and his wife sailed from London for Norfolk, Virginia, going from there to Philadelphia where he "legally qualified himself to hold and dispose of land by taking . . . the oath of allegiance [before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania on January 9, 1792] and

<sup>1</sup> There is considerable scattered biographical information regarding Charles Williamson previous to the relinquishment of his position as American agent for the Pulteney Associates, but very little concerning the last seven years of his life, 1801-1808. See O. Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, N. Y., 1851), 249-79; Guy H. McMaster, *History of the Settlement of Steuben County, New York* (Bath, N. Y., 1853), 14, 141-52. More pretentious accounts are William Main, *Charles Williamson: A Review of His Life* (Edinburgh, 1899), prepared in connection with the centenary of Bath, New York, and Arthur C. Parker, "Charles Williamson: Builder of the Genesee Country," in *Rochester Historical Society Publications*, VI (1927), 1-34. For many details regarding Williamson, see his letters, journals, etc., covering most of his life, in the *Tomperran Papers* (in Newberry Library, Chicago).

<sup>2</sup> *Genesee Lands, Deeds*, 70, 153, 169 (photostats of "Minutes of the Pulteney Associates," in New York Public Library); P. D. Evans, "The Pulteney Purchase," *New York State Historical Association Journal*, III (1922), 83-104. For a map of the Pulteney Purchase, see L. C. Aldrich, *History of Ontario County* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1893), 97.



becoming a citizen of the United States." The parceling of the Empire state at wholesale had begun.<sup>3</sup>

After a short stay in Philadelphia, Williamson proceeded to Northumberland, Pennsylvania, and from thence into the Genessee country where, April 11, 1792, he received a deed, in his own name as agent for his employers, to the lands purchased. After a survey of the vast tract, Williamson laid out and began the settlement of Bath, in what is now Steuben County, New York, naming the settlement after his patron's estate in Scotland. It was not until July, 1794, however, that he was joined by his wife and two children, all of whom had remained in Philadelphia while a road to the settlement was constructed and a home built.<sup>4</sup>

Williamson lived in the Genessee country laying out and developing roads and places for settlement and encouraging immigrants to purchase and move onto the land. Although his original contract was for seven years he remained for over a decade. During this period he entered actively into the political and social life of the community, serving as common pleas judge, school commissioner, and as a member of the New York state assembly.<sup>5</sup> Because the territory over which he had jurisdiction was only slowly settled, the costs of making the land accessible exceeded the receipts from sales and rentals to such an extent that Pulteney and his associates finally felt it necessary to replace Williamson by an agent who would be more economical in administration and expenditure. In the meantime, with the aid of Aaron Burr, a bill had been passed by the New York legislature permitting aliens to hold real estate in New York state. This law made it possible for the Associates to acquire title to the land and to hold it themselves rather than through a native or naturalized agent. Accordingly, on December 18, 1800, Williamson made an assignment to the Pulteney Associates of all bonds and mortgages that he had executed and on March 31, 1801, he con-

<sup>3</sup> Main, *Charles Williamson*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> McMaster, *Settlement of Steuben County*, 17, 141-42; Turner, *Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, 273.

veyed all the lands under his control. Sir William Pulteney at once selected Robert Troup, a New York lawyer and friend of Williamson's, as his new agent and gave him power of attorney. Troup successfully administered the lands for the next thirty years, removing from New York City to Geneva, New York. He was less lavish in his management than Williamson had been and, as a result, the lands soon showed a small and continued profit. It is only within recent years that the affairs of the Pulteney Associates have been wound up, at which time it was estimated that if the sums represented by the original purchase price had been invested at the lowest prevailing rate of interest the result would have been more profitable.<sup>6</sup> Williamson's settlement with Pulteney provided for a cash payment within three years of over \$85,000. Apparently there were many charges against this sum. Record books kept by his successor, Robert Troup, include receipts by Williamson for cash payments "on account of the remuneration sum due to me from Sir William Pulteney" totaling \$7300, the last payment of \$4200 being receipted for August 25, 1804.<sup>7</sup>

It was during the period of his residence in northern New York that Williamson first came to know Burr, who was frequently in the country in the interests of clients who owned land in the territory comprised in the grant to the Pulteney Associates as well as that of the Holland Land Company to the westward and in the Military Lands to the northeastward. Burr himself owned land in this northern country and for a time was retained by Williamson as his legal counsel.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Samuel H. Wandell and Meade Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr* (New York, 1925), I, 178; A. M. Sakolski, *The Great American Land Bubble* (New York, 1932), 60 ff. For Williamson's account of his stewardship, including statement of receipts and expenditures, cf. Williamson to Sir William Pulteney, January 12, 1795, in *Observations on the North American Land Company* (London, 1796), 79-83, 56-57; W. G. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution: A Life of Robert Morris* (New York, 1891), II, 256-58.

<sup>7</sup> For terms of settlement between Williamson and Pulteney in 1801, cf. G. S. Conover, "Charles Williamson and the Pulteney Purchase Settlement," *Ontario County (New York) Times*, March 11, 1888, ff. (photostats in New York Public Library); *id.*, *The Genessee Tract* (Geneva, N. Y., 1889), 3-7. For payments to Williamson by Robert Troup, see Receipt Books, Pulteney Estate, in Troup Papers (in New York Public Library).

<sup>8</sup> Turner, *Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, 278; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, I, 178.

Burr's activities in the Genessee lands both in the interest of his clients and on his own account were a part of the prelude to his subsequent duel with Alexander Hamilton. In the summer of 1799, because of accusations growing out of a transaction with the Holland Land Company relating to the bill permitting aliens to own land in New York state, Burr came into collision with the Hamilton faction. Since his defeat of General Philip Schuyler, Hamilton's father-in-law, for the United States Senate in 1791, the relations between Burr and Hamilton had steadily grown more bitter. They flared into open conflict in this summer of 1799, because of slurring remarks made by Hamilton's brother-in-law, John Barker Church, a wealthy Englishman, who had often provided Hamilton with funds when that brilliant but somewhat erratic individual became involved, as he often did, in financial matters. Hamilton, on his part, acted as Church's attorney. Burr challenged Church when he learned of remarks concerning his integrity and honesty repeated by Church at a private dinner held in New York City. They met on the fateful heights at Weehawken on September 2, 1799, and though the encounter was bloodless, it only acted to increase the bitterness between the two factions. There is no evidence that Williamson was present at the duel, but it is certain that he knew of it and sympathized with Burr.<sup>9</sup>

When Williamson came to New York City early in 1801 to transfer his papers and responsibilities relating to the Pulteney Associates to Troup, his successor, he rented a house at 87 Pearl Street in which Burr was interested and here he lived for nearly two years, assisting Troup in taking over the administration of the Pulteney properties and otherwise amusing himself. In this period he received occasional payments on his settlement. On January 10, 1803, he sailed for England, after an absence of over ten years, to renew his political and business contacts, to visit his home in Scotland and to consult with Sir William Pulteney. He returned to New York late in the fall of the year, probably in the

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-49, 178-81; M. L. Davis (ed.), *Memoirs of Aaron Burr* (New York, 1855), I, 417-23.

same boat which brought Anthony Merry, the newly appointed British minister.<sup>10</sup>

At the time of Williamson's arrival in England a precarious peace reigned over Europe. Two years previous, on March 20, 1801, a public agreement had confirmed and announced the retrocession of Louisiana by Spain to France. What use Napoleon planned to make of this huge territory was at the time uncertain. The arguments and accusations growing out of the fulfillment of the provisions of the Peace of Amiens made in March, 1802, which had brought a temporary respite to Europe, were causing great uncertainty. Rumors of war between England and France filled the air. Many hoped for close co-operation between Great Britain and the United States as against any hostile moves by Napoleon. Williamson, then in London, wrote Rufus King, the retiring American minister at London: "Should a war take place and any co-operation with America be the consequence I will not be idle. At least I will endeavor to be useful." He opposed King's return to the United States at such a critical time, "As this country [Great Britain] will no doubt take some great and decided step in which our country [the United States] must be more or less concerned." He reported his friend, Lord Melville, then first lord of the admiralty, as friendly to the United States and intimated he might carry some confidential message to him from King. As Williamson penned the letter, King was preparing to depart and Napoleon was making final arrangements to declare war on England, a war that was to carry him to the peak of his power. One of the results of Napoleon's act was a proposal, in the working out of which Williamson was an important factor, to recruit recent British arrivals in the United States for an enterprise in England's behalf against French possessions in the West Indies. This recruiting project Williamson called the "levy." He proposed to extend it from Canada to the Carolinas. Even before Miranda's departure for South America, the

<sup>10</sup> For rental of house to Williamson, *cf.* Hugh B. McGuckin to William Edgar, April 26, 1801, in Edgar Papers (in New York Public Library), VIII, 19; Receipt Books, Pulteney Estate, in Troup Papers, containing receipt by Williamson of November 13, 1801, for \$1000 "on account of my salary"; McMaster, *Settlement of Steuben County*, 104.

"levy" was extended to include co-operation with him in an attack against Spanish possessions in Florida, Mexico, and South America, when, as was expected, Spain would join France in the war against Great Britain.<sup>11</sup>

Burr was much in New York in the winter of 1803-1804, during which time he was engaged in the bitter gubernatorial campaign which ended with the election of his Hamilton-supported opponent, General Morgan Lewis, and which led directly to the fatal duel with Hamilton. It is to be assumed that during this winter Burr saw Williamson frequently. On April 25, 1804, the votes were cast and when they were counted it was found that though Burr had carried the city by a slender majority, the upstate voters had elected Lewis by a majority of more than eight thousand votes.<sup>12</sup>

At this juncture a man well-known to Burr arrived in New York, en route from New Orleans to the seat of government at Washington. James Wilkinson, general in chief of the United States army, fresh from his public exposure as one of the joint commissioners appointed to receive the vast territory of Louisiana from France, sought a private interview with his old friend and former army comrade. Several days after reaching New York Wilkinson wrote Burr a note dated at Richmond Hill: "To save time of which I need much and have but little, I propose to take a Bed with you this night, if it may be done without observation or intrusion—Answer me and if in the affirmative, I will be with [you] at 30' after the 8th Hour."<sup>13</sup>

Why the secrecy and what was discussed at this meeting can only be conjectured. Wilkinson was sitting on top of the world, so to speak. He had just officiated as a principal in one of the momentous events in American history and was on his way to the nation's capital to report in person to his friend, President Jefferson, and to secure for himself

<sup>11</sup> Williamson to Rufus King, May 17, 1803, in King Papers (in New York Historical Society), XVIII, 63; Williamson to Lord Melville, October 6, 1804, and Williamson to Sir Evan Nepean, February 2, 1805, in Melville Papers (in Newberry Library).

<sup>12</sup> Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, I, 272-73.

<sup>13</sup> James Wilkinson to Aaron Burr, May 23, 1804, in American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, XXIX (1919), 122-23.

the appointment as governor of the vast Louisiana territory in place of the incumbent, W. C. C. Claiborne, for whom he had scant respect or confidence. Burr, on his part, still smarting from the effects of his defeat for governor at the hands of the Hamiltonian faction, was "only a lonely man whose star had fallen." He was in the midst of the controversy, which, six weeks later, led to Hamilton's death on the dueling field on Weehawken Heights. Even before the duel, Burr could see that his political future in New York was likely to hold little of encouragement for him. In addition his creditors pressed him on all sides. Any venture, however fanciful, would be better than his existing situation.<sup>14</sup>

Wilkinson, sensing Burr's situation and prospects, undoubtedly discussed with him the possibility of securing fame and fortune and power by leading a movement to drive the hated Spaniard out of the Louisiana country and thus to re-establish himself in the good graces of the government and people. There was much dissatisfaction in New Orleans with the new American administration. The community was ripe for any venture however visionary and erratic. Whatever the substance of their discussion on this evening in May, Wilkinson apparently deliberately dropped only the germ of an idea expecting that it would be possible to cultivate any plan that might seem feasible during the ensuing winter that he expected to spend in Washington and where he assumed that Burr would also be in attendance.

After the meeting in New York Wilkinson resumed his interrupted journey. On May 28 he passed through Trenton, undoubtedly stopping at Princeton to see his youngest son, Joseph Biddle Wilkinson, who was a student there and who graduated in the following October. Early in June General Wilkinson was in Washington, where he met among others Baron Alexander von Humboldt, the noted traveler and geographer, with whom he discussed the topography and resources of the

<sup>14</sup> Henry Adams, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1899), II, 187 ff.; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, I, 264 ff.; Allan McLane Hamilton, *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton* (New York, 1910), 384 ff.; James Parton, *Life of Aaron Burr* (New York, 1861), 341 ff.

trans-Mississippi country and from whom he secured a map of the Mississippi Valley region.<sup>15</sup> Wilkinson remained in Washington during the early part of July, going from there to Frederick "Town," Maryland, where the headquarters of the army were located. Here he remained until early in September, when he took his wife, who was in poor health, for treatment to the Sulphur Springs near Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He remained for several weeks, returning early in October to Washington. For a time he traveled back and forth between the nation's capital and Frederick, but as soon as the cold weather began he settled down in Washington to spend the winter and here he remained until the following spring.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> General Wilkinson "passed through" Trenton, New Jersey, May 28, 1804 (*Trenton True American*, June 2, 1804), and arrived in Washington the following week (*ibid.*, June 25, 1804, quoting a dispatch from Washington of June 15). Regarding Alexander von Humboldt, see Wilkinson to Thomas Jefferson, June 11, 1804, abstract in *Bulletin of the Bureau Rolls and Library of the Department of State, Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1895), Pt. II, Vol. VIII, p. 575. Humboldt left a copy of his "great map of New Spain" in the department of state on condition "that it not be copied or printed without his consent." Wilkinson secured permission to make "a transcript of the northern provinces of Mexico," but not of the entire map. Burr is reported to have had a copy made without authority. Later the map was stolen and copied "by an Englishman named Arrowsmith who appropriated it to himself by publishing it . . . under the title of the New Map of Mexico." Alexandre de Humboldt, "Personal Narrative of Travels," quoted in Elliott Coues (ed.), *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike . . .* (New York, 1895), xxi, xxii; Jefferson to Humboldt, May 28, June 9, 1804, in Thomas Jefferson, *Writings* (Washington, 1904), XIX, 140; XI, 27; Henry Lee, autographed statement regarding Humboldt's map, made in 1804-1805 (in Library of Congress).

<sup>16</sup> Wilkinson left Washington after July 9, 1804, for Frederick "Town," Maryland, where he was on July 15, the headquarters of the army having been moved to that point for the summer (General Orders, Washington, June 23, July 5, 15, 1804, in *Orderly Books*, kept by Major Jacob Kingsbury, in New York Historical Society). No record of Wilkinson's whereabouts has been found for the period from July 15, 1804, to September 4, 1804. On the former date he wrote Henry Dearborn from Frederick that he had "arrived last evening" from Washington and received such advices in regard to Mrs. Wilkinson's health "as to oblige me to prosecute my journey." On the advice of President Jefferson, Wilkinson wrote that he would take Mrs. Wilkinson "to the Warm [Sulphur] Springs" in Pennsylvania, located about fifteen miles northeast of Carlisle near the junction of the Juniata and Susquehanna rivers. See Wilkinson to Henry Dearborn, July 15, 1804, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division, Military Book. Apparently he traveled back and forth between Frederick, Sulphur Springs, and Washington, as on September 4, 1804, he signed general orders at the first place, commenting "with sensible concern" on the prevalence of quarrels among officers (Kingsbury *Orderly*

About this time an observer in Washington wrote:

Genl Wilkinson was an elegant Gentleman in person & manner. He was of medium size, probably 5 feet 8 or 9 inch. I knew him first in the years 1800 to 1804—He dwelt in the house next door to me in 'the Six buildings' in Washgt City. He was sumptuous & hospitable in his living; not very nicely balancing his means & ends—He appeared much abroad with his aide [his eldest son, James Biddle Wilkinson] both in full uniform, and generally on horseback. His array was splendid; he having gold stirrups & spurs, & gold leopard claws to his leopard saddle cloth.<sup>17</sup>

In the meantime, Burr's affairs had moved to the climax marked by the fatal duel with Hamilton on July 11, 1804. Burr's first recourse was to seek the shelter of his home at Richmond Hill, where he remained until July 22, when he slipped across the Hudson to Amboy to stay overnight with his friend Commodore Thomas Truxton of the United States navy. The next day he continued his flight to Philadelphia and there he was taken in by his friend, Charles Biddle. In Philadelphia Burr was comparatively safe from molestation and though there was much criticism of his conduct and of those who befriended him no overt attempts were made to disturb him. The worst that was said publicly was that "Colonel Burr, the man who has covered our country with mourning, was seen walking with a friend in the streets of this city [Philadelphia] in open day."<sup>18</sup>

Books). On September 16 he was back at Sulphur Springs (Wilkinson to T. H. Cushing, September 16, 1804, in New York Historical Society), but left there ten days later to bring Mrs. Wilkinson back to Frederick where he remained until late in October (General Orders dated at Frederick, September 28, October 19, 1804, and at Washington, November 2, 1804, in Kingsbury Orderly Books). An amusing account of a roadside accident and a runaway team of horses is recounted in a letter from Wilkinson to his friend Richard Peters of Philadelphia, who with his wife had also been taking the cure at Sulphur Springs and who followed Wilkinson to Washington several days later (Wilkinson, from Carlisle, to Peters, at Sulphur Springs, September 27, 1804, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XLIV [1920], 333-34). On the very day that his "feet and legs were to be crushed by the ponderous mass which they had carried" as he ran after the errant horses, Wilkinson's youngest son, Joseph Biddle Wilkinson, was graduated at Princeton (*True American*, October 8, 1804). Burr's presence in Philadelphia in late July, 1804, was frequently noted in the press. If Wilkinson had been there also it is reasonable to suppose that notice of the fact would have been printed.

<sup>17</sup> John T. Watson to E. B. O'Callaghan, September 12, 1860, in O'Callaghan Papers (in Library of Congress), XVIII.

<sup>18</sup> *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), July 27, August 3, 1804. Burr, from New



During this period of enforced hibernation, Burr's changed status gave plenty of opportunity to consider whatever suggestions Wilkinson may have made in the hours of their brief conference in New York several months previous. But he elected to make use of Wilkinson's suggestions, whatever they were, in a way different, perhaps, from that expected. Before he fled from New York, Burr had undoubtedly conferred frequently with Williamson and had evolved a plan that was fully matured after his arrival in Philadelphia. Williamson, who was in the process of winding up his settlement of the Pulteney estate with Troup, was preparing to take ship for England. The time was opportune for sending a private proposal direct to the rulers of England in the person of William Pitt and his aides, among whom was Williamson's friend, Henry Dundas, Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty and trusted friend and adviser of the prime minister. Burr felt he could trust Williamson to promote his plans in a circumspect and effective manner and to keep secret the details of any decisions arrived at until the proper time for publication.

To help work out the details of the plan of procedure decided on, Williamson traveled to Philadelphia. Since the previous spring Burr's situation had gone from bad to worse; the chance of some other adventurer being ahead of him required that he act quickly and forcefully. The British minister Merry was in Philadelphia for the summer. Williamson was favorably known to him. They had talked together in London in the previous fall; both had come to the United States about the same time, perhaps in the same boat. This acquaintanceship afforded Burr an easy and natural approach to Merry. Williamson, on his part, was not only in Burr's confidence, but he too might collaborate effectively with any project through the use of the "levy" previously men-

York, to Charles Biddle, at Philadelphia, July 18, 1804, says: "I may probably enough ask a room in your house in town [Philadelphia] for two or three days." Quoted in *Autobiography of Charles Biddle* (Philadelphia, 1883), 406. Parton says that Burr "was welcomed to the house of his old friend [A. J.] Dallas." *Life of Aaron Burr*, 369. Both Biddle and Dallas interceded with the governor of New Jersey, urging him not to press for the prosecution of Burr for his duel with Hamilton. *Ibid.*, 373.

tioned, of which he was the chief organizer and probably the originator.<sup>19</sup>

This so-called "levy," though originally proposed a year before Burr had formed any deliberate conception of a plan for invading Mexico or some other southwestern point, could be made to support the venture in case such support was seen to be either desirable or advantageous. Perhaps his "levy" plans made Williamson willing to listen more attentively to Burr than might otherwise have been the case. Concerning this possible opportunity for service to England he wrote: ". . . to my own country I am dreadfully in arrears & no human being ever felt more sensibly the being so than I have done—to see a glimpse of being of service while I have youth & health to undergo fatigue opens to me a new scene & if in my endeavours to be useful I can deserve the approbation of Lord Melville & Mr. Pitt I shall be happy indeed."<sup>20</sup>

Wilkinson's suggestions, whatever they were, and Williamson's sympathy and availability, seemed to provide both the means and an opportunity for Burr to communicate directly with the British government. Accordingly, Williamson transmitted to Merry Burr's "offer to lend his assistance to his Majesty's government in any manner in which they may think fit to employ him, particularly in endeavoring to effect a separation of the western part of the United States from that which lies between the Atlantic and the mountains, in its whole extent." Williamson, soon to take ship for England, would give full details to the British government of Burr's proposal and of the plans and means for carrying it out.<sup>21</sup> On the face of it, the proposal, as briefly suggested, seems fantastic to say the least. Though Burr himself was the second officer in the American government, he knew his future to be uncertain.

<sup>19</sup> Merry reached Washington, November 27, 1803; Williamson was in New York by November 25, 1803, as is evidenced by a receipt of that date given Robert Troup, Williamson's successor as agent for the Pulteney Associates. Cf. also New York *Herald*, December 4, 1803. For Williamson's "levy" plan, see Williamson to Nepean, February 2, 1805, in Melville Papers.

<sup>20</sup> Williamson to Lord Melville, October 6, 1804, *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Merry to Lord Harroby, August 6, 1804, quoted in Adams, *History of the United States*, II, 395.

Hamilton dead was a greater menace and obstacle to his progress than Hamilton alive. Burr was at odds both with his former political friends and supporters and also with public opinion throughout the country. At the time of his meeting with Williamson in Philadelphia in the first week of August, 1804, Burr was a fugitive from justice and he could not see how his affairs would turn out. Apparently, he felt justified in resorting to any expedient, however venal or fantastic, to rehabilitate his fortunes.

The germ of the plan, though perhaps suggested or motivated by Wilkinson, was evolved without consultation with that worthy. The two men had not seen each other or had any communication with each other, so far as it is of record, since that evening in New York in the previous May when Wilkinson sought a private interview with Burr "without observation or intrusion." There is no evidence that Wilkinson ever met Williamson. Certain it is that Wilkinson was not in Philadelphia, early in August, 1804, as has been stated, when Burr and Williamson were there and when Burr's proposal was made to Anthony Merry with Williamson as the medium. The available evidence indicates that Williamson was the only confidant of Burr's in the initial stages of the project which afterwards evolved into what is known in American history as Burr's Conspiracy. Wilkinson and others who later became prominently involved were only of secondary consequence and were not advised, at the time, of the extent or intent of Burr's plans.<sup>22</sup> Until a report could be had from Williamson of his reception by the British government there was no need to complicate matters by introducing others, who, if they agreed to associate themselves with the project,

<sup>22</sup> In his paper on the "Hispanic-American Phases of the 'Burr Conspiracy,'" *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XII (1932), 145-75, Dr. I. J. Cox, in the first paragraph, states that Wilkinson met Burr and Williamson in Philadelphia in August, 1804. He gives no authority for Wilkinson's presence other than to cite several general works none of which makes any mention of this meeting. The evidence cited above (note 16), while not absolutely conclusive as to Wilkinson, is circumstantially so. No hint of any kind has been found that even suggests Wilkinson's presence in Philadelphia at this time. Nor has any evidence been found to indicate that Wilkinson and Williamson ever met, though through their mutual friend Burr each probably knew a good deal concerning the other.

would do so with a full knowledge of the plan and of the progress made. It was enough, for Burr's immediate purpose, to drop veiled hints in order to observe individual reactions.

"In consequence of orders from the Commander in Chief which [he] received on the 4th of August [Williamson] prepar'd to embark for London," but "circumstances that [he] thought of consequence to [England] . . . prevented [his] sailing . . . before the 31 August." In the interval he had seen Burr and had carried his "offer" to Merry, as reported in Merry's dispatch of August 6. Williamson, after a "long and perilous" voyage, reached Liverpool the first week in October, and before "geting [his] baggage ashore" he wrote to Lord Melville, requesting a private interview because of "Certain circumstances which I feel anxious to communicate to your Lordship . . . before I present myself at the office of the Commander in Chief."<sup>23</sup>

Williamson found conditions momentarily favorable for the reception of his twofold mission—to report on the "levy" and to connect it with Burr's proposal. A careful reading of his correspondence, after his arrival in England, with members of the British ministry, sheds an interesting light on his conception of the expedient course for England to pursue. However, as we shall see, events that transpired between the time of his arrival in England in October, 1804, and his return to the United States in the spring of 1806, acted to change both the direction of his efforts and his interest in Burr's proposal and activities.

When Williamson reached London, William Pitt was at the head of the government. The ministry was very friendly to any undertakings looking to the overthrow, or even the curtailment, of Spanish rule in the West Indies and South America. At the time England was in the midst of her bitter struggle with Napoleon. Pitt's accession to power had been due largely to the necessity for a firmer and more aggressive national policy. Merry's communication regarding Burr's proposal was disallowed and filed in the foreign office; conditions were unfavorable

<sup>23</sup> Williamson to Lord Melville, October 6, 1804, in Melville Papers.

for any exclusive or even serious consideration of the proposal, even though Pitt's interest in South America and even Mexico as fields for conquest was at its peak. Burr had an active competitor in Miranda, the visionary South American adventurer who was again in London lobbying for support of his own proposal to invade South America. Ten days after Williamson's arrival Captain Sir Home Popham, in private conference with Pitt and Melville "remained the whole evening explaining all General Miranda's views." Popham was directed to confer again with Miranda "to draw up a specific memorial . . . and to explain the readiest way of embracing all the views which General Miranda had from time to time submitted to the government." As a result of these instructions Popham prepared a lengthy memorandum which comprised in essence a statement of British intentions with respect to co-operation with Miranda in his proposed expedition against the Spaniards in South America. The results were not especially helpful or satisfactory to Miranda. Over a year passed and still he had not left England. Finally, despairing of anything more than fair words and elegant promises, he decided to quit England. He had learned that the differences between Spain and the United States, as a result of a claims dispute and a controversy over the boundaries of Louisiana, might lead to war. "On August 25, 1805, Miranda addressed a short note to Williamson announcing that he was about to leave England for the United States. He sailed on September 2, 1805, reaching New York November 9, 1805."<sup>24</sup>

Miranda and his plans so attracted Williamson that "Had [the British] government continued to patronize his Schemes" Williamson would "have gone with Him, but as they did not I declined it." Miranda "from his sanguineness of Temper first misled himself and then" Williamson. This new interest did not help Burr's proposal

<sup>24</sup> Memorandum by Captain Sir Home Popham, dated October 14, 1804, in "Miranda and the British Admiralty, 1804-1806," *American Historical Review*, VI (1901), 509 ff.; W. S. Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill, 1929), I, 293; *id.*, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America," *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, I, 354, 362.

along any. Williamson still gave it attention though he seems to have come to consider it only as secondary and auxiliary to the attempts of the British ministry, in one way or another, to gain a substantial and permanent foothold in South America and, perhaps, in Mexico. In this view he was supported by Lord Melville who, for ten years past, had looked with favor on Miranda's plans for revolutionizing Spanish America and who had supported him whenever possible, always, however, considering him only as an advance agent of British penetration.<sup>25</sup> But now "Things . . . of more general Import" were claiming the undivided attention of the British government. Napoleon went from victory to victory, upsetting Pitt's plans and finally causing his death. Lord Melville became involved in local politics and was impeached. Though finally acquitted of the charges against him, his retirement from the ministry deprived Williamson of a strong supporter in whatever he might try to do. If there was ever any chance of drawing England into any connection with Burr, it passed with the death of Pitt and the resignation of Melville. The new government of "The Talents" headed by Lord Grenville, in association with the brilliant, but erratic and unstable, Charles James Fox, was on too slender a tenure to permit of foreign entanglements that did not seem to lead directly to Napoleon's overthrow.

Miranda, on his arrival in New York, immediately renewed old acquaintanceships and made new ones with a view to securing financial and moral support and recruits for his expedition to the West Indies and South America. He had brought some money and a letter of credit with him from England. He called on Rufus King, the former American minister to England, whom he speedily informed of the details of his proposed expedition. He also met an old friend, Colonel William Stephen Smith, a son-in-law of John Adams and then surveyor of the

<sup>25</sup> Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, January 3, 1806, in Melville Papers. As a result of alleged irregular financial dealings, on April 15, 1805, Lord Melville had been impeached and ten days later he resigned his office as first lord of the admiralty. Though still holding Pitt's confidence and good will, Melville was out of power and any of his acts lacked official stamp. He was, however, finally tried and in June, 1806, was acquitted of all charges.

port of New York. Through these two influential friends, Miranda met other prominent men whom he interested in his project and from whom he secured financial support or personal co-operation. Among them was a New York merchant, Samuel G. Ogden, who, with Colonel Smith, soon became so involved in Miranda's schemes as to bring about an official investigation of their conduct and intentions.<sup>26</sup>

In spite of success, as the result of several weeks of conference, Miranda concluded that it would be unwise to attempt to involve or interest the United States in his enterprise. Acting on the advice of Rufus King, he left New York on November 28, 1805, for Washington, stopping en route in Philadelphia to visit possible supporters at that place. First, he conferred with Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was sufficiently interested to give him a letter of introduction to James Madison, the American secretary of state. In Philadelphia Miranda also met Aaron Burr for the first time. Burr though "greatly pleased with his talents and colloquial eloquence" carefully refrained from telling him anything of importance, while endeavoring to secure from him such information as might be of aid in the carrying out of his own schemes. So far as we have any evidence, Miranda neither brought a message from Williamson for Burr nor told him anything of his own talks with Williamson. On arrival in Washington Miranda arranged for an interview with Madison from whom he understood that he would have "the tacit approbation and good wishes" of the administration. Madison, however, did not have any such approval in mind. This misunderstanding, deliberate or otherwise, caused considerable trouble for both Madison and Miranda, but as it has no connection with Burr's plans we are not here concerned with it.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, Burr, after his conference with Williamson in Philadelphia in the summer of 1804, had gone down the South Atlantic coast to an island off Savannah and thence, after some delay, to Florida to determine the chances in that section for obtaining support in men

<sup>26</sup> Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 189, 195, 208-209.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 189-91; Robertson, *Life of Miranda*, I, 294-96; *id.*, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 362-64.

and money for his project, whether a conquest of Mexico or a separation of the western states from the eastern seaboard. Returning northward in November, after visiting his daughter Theodosia in South Carolina, Burr went on to Washington to be present at the opening of Congress and to renew his intrigues. Here he met many kindred spirits, among them Wilkinson, whom he had not seen since their night meeting in Burr's home at Richmond Hill in New York. Here also he again met Senator Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, who had been in New Orleans in the previous year on a tour of observation, and Senator John Adair of Kentucky, both of whom soon became involved with him in his irregular activities.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the fall and winter of 1804 Burr waited anxiously and expectantly for word from Williamson as to the reception of his proposal by the British government as made through Merry. Williamson, on his part, when he learned of the fate of Merry's dispatch seems to have been disposed to allow Burr's proposal to await a more favorable time before he again called attention to it. During the period of waiting he became involved as one of Pitt's contacts with Miranda. Williamson's scheme for a "levy" in the United States, as previously mentioned, seems to have been intended, in the first instance, as a possible recruiting medium for Miranda, but because the British government became so involved in its efforts to defeat Napoleon, the "indispensable authorizations . . . for preparing the arms and organizing the Corps already approved and recommended" were withheld and this mode of recruiting lost favor for the time being at least. Several months after his arrival in London from the United States Williamson wrote: "If [the] Government is disposed to aid me in the prosecution of this levy and it is their wish it should go on—It had better be begun *de Novo*."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, II, 34 ff.; Adams, *History of the United States*, II, 402 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Williamson to Nepean, February 2, 1805, in Melville Papers. The "levy" idea seems to have been set aside definitely by the British government as several of the important individuals in the United States who were connected with it soon joined actively with



At this period the United States was considered in a rather indifferent manner by the British government, friendship and assistance from it being looked on more as a means to an end—the conquest of South America and Mexico in favor of Great Britain—than as an end in itself desirable to be attained. To stimulate interest in his “levy” and, inferentially, it may be assumed, in Burr’s proposal, Williamson “always looked forward” and did what he could to establish a feeling of cordiality between the two countries.<sup>80</sup> He was, however, more concerned with what the French might do along the Gulf coast and in Mexico than with assisting Burr in any attempt to set up an independent state in the Southwest whether on American or Mexican soil.

Because Burr apparently had given Williamson the impression that he was “Commandant of the [American] Forces in Louisiana,” Williamson thought if the French should attack at New Orleans and along the Mexican coast “50,000 North Americans with Colonel Burr at their head [could be] far on their March to the City of Mexico” to meet such attacks. All that would be needed was

a trifling Aid from Great Britain and a sort of Aid which Great Britain can give without Inconvenience to herself . . . [that is] Money to defray the Expence of equipping and moving a sufficient Force from Kentucky to the Natchez—and a supply of Military Stores to be sent to New Orleans. . . . Besides these a small Fleet cruising in the Gulph of Mexico [would be required] to keep the Spaniards quiet in Vera Cruz and their shipping—if any should be there—quiet in Pensacola. . . . [This] would not in Expence exceed £200,000, if that . . . but should time be lost & a French force once get footing . . . what is now easy would be extremely difficult.<sup>81</sup>

There are several points of significance in Williamson’s “observations.” In the first place they represent private rather than official views and were largely based on his dislike of France and Spain and his wish to advance British interests in the Southwest. In this connection, Williamson asked that he be considered as one of “the Western Watch

Miranda and left the country with him on his voyage of adventure and intended conquest in South American waters. Cf. also Robertson, *Life of Miranda*, I, 284, 286.

<sup>80</sup> Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, January 6, 1806, in Melville Papers.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

Dogs of the Empire," but admitted that "Watch Dogs will sometimes bark when Thieves are not at the Door." It may be assumed that he based his statement that Burr commanded the American "Forces in Louisiana" on information from Burr himself. There is no mention of General Wilkinson nor any intimation that any one other than Burr was in authority in Louisiana. Williamson's apparent concern was not in aiding Burr as an individual, but rather in preventing France and Spain from gaining a foothold at New Orleans or Mobile or at any other point on the Gulf coast.<sup>32</sup>

So far as Burr's activities were concerned it should be noted that Williamson had proposed the "levy" when in England in the summer of 1803 long before Burr had begun to formulate any definite plans. He had returned to New York to arrange for the organization of the "levy," but on August 6, 1804, he had received a letter from the London war office, dated May 29, 1804, containing an "order of recall." This caused him "to suspend the operation [of organizing the "levy"] so far as it could be done without losing the ground that had been attained." How much Burr knew of the plans for the "levy" and to what extent it affected his own plans is not of record.<sup>33</sup>

At the time Williamson was communicating these observations to members of the Pitt ministry and several weeks before Burr left Philadelphia on his first trip to the West in the spring of 1805, Burr was writing his daughter Theodosia:

The plan of summer operations is to go from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt, thence through the States on each side of the Ohio. To visit St. Louis . . . ; thence through Tennessee (where pass a month [with Jackson and others]) to Orleans. . . . Dr. Browne may have the office of secretary of the government of Louisiana. . . . General Wilkinson is appointed governor of that territory. . . . Charles Williamson has not returned from Europe, but is hourly expected.

In a later letter written a week before he left Philadelphia Burr remarked that "As the objects of this journey, not mere curiosity, or

<sup>32</sup> Williamson to William Windham, December 20, 1806, in Melville Papers.

<sup>33</sup> Williamson to Nepean, February 2, 1805, *ibid.*

*pour passer le tems*, may lead me to Orleans, and perhaps farther. I contemplate the tour with gayety and cheerfulness."<sup>34</sup>

It is not apparent on what grounds Burr "hourly expected" Williamson's arrival in Philadelphia. At that time Williamson was in London conferring with Melville and other members of the English government with reference to Miranda's movements and the expected operations of the French and Spanish naval forces in Gulf waters. Little progress or interest in Burr's movements and plans was evident. In fact, Miranda monopolized the thoughts of the British government, Williamson having been designated as one of the principal British contacts with the South American adventurer. In addition, other more immediate matters claimed Williamson's attention. His former patron, Sir William Pulteney, died in London in June, 1805, at the age of eighty-four. Undoubtedly Williamson was called in to assist in settling his affairs, particularly as they related to his own extensive land holdings in the Pulteney Purchase in western New York.<sup>35</sup>

It may be surmised, in view of his expectancy of Williamson's early arrival in the United States, that this event might cause Burr to go "farther" than New Orleans, not alone, but with Williamson or a British fleet which he would find at that port. Some reason for this surmise is derived from a study of Burr's wanderings in the Mississippi Valley in the late summer and early fall of 1805. He met Wilkinson in June, 1805, at Fort Massac on the Ohio River (Now Cairo), from which point he sailed down the Mississippi, under a special escort, to New Orleans. It may be surmised that Burr, on his arrival at New Orleans, would determine whether he would go "farther" or retrace his steps northward through the Mississippi Valley and thence eastward to Philadelphia and New York. Burr's trip to New Orleans was quite obviously one of expectancy and uncertainty. He seems to have hoped against hope that he would meet Williamson or an English fleet or ship

<sup>34</sup> Aaron Burr to Theodosia Burr, March 10, 29, 1805, quoted in Davis (ed.), *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II, 359, 366-67.

<sup>35</sup> Notice of the death of Sir William Pulteney, May, 1805, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, XCVII (1805), 587.

sent with a message, funds, and instructions. When he was disappointed in this apparent expectation he found it necessary to confer again, on the changed situation, with Wilkinson in St. Louis and with Governor W. H. Harrison at Vincennes. The first from being a secondary factor in Burr's plans was in the way of becoming the most important cog in the machine. Everything, the very success of any plan hostile to the United States that Burr might propose to carry out in the western country, depended on Wilkinson. Harrison's support would be helpful, though it was not essential. This worthy, however, could now assist if he would consent to Burr's selection as the Indiana territorial representative in Congress, from which official vantage point Burr could mature his plans and intrigue for financial and material support from the British government or from that of some other power, perhaps France or Spain or both of them.<sup>86</sup>

By mid-November Burr was back in Philadelphia where he first met Miranda, as above mentioned. Before the end of the month he was in Washington, again conferring with Merry who, as yet, had had no reply to his dispatch containing Burr's proposal to the British government which Williamson had taken to London in the previous year. Though he reported that Burr's "project was very well received by the English cabinet, and more particularly by Lord Melville, who was the person charged with the correspondence," Williamson had not found "Mr. Pitt so warm as Lord Melville for the project . . . and showed, by want of exactness in his correspondence, that he was not following up the object with the same zeal as at first he undertook it."<sup>87</sup>

In his conference with Merry on his return from the West, Burr evidenced his disappointment at Williamson's apparent inaction and inattention. "He had been encouraged, he said, . . . by the communi-

<sup>86</sup> W. F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy* (New York, 1903), 16 ff.; Dorothy B. Goebel, *William Henry Harrison: A Political Biography* (Indianapolis, 1926), 72-74; Davis (ed.), *Memoirs of Aaron Burr*, II, 381-82.

<sup>87</sup> Merry to Lord Mulgrave, November 25, 1805, and Don Carlos Yrujo to Don Pedro de Cevallos, January 1, 1806, quoted in Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 229, 238; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, II, 52.

cations he had received from Colonel Williamson, which gave him some room to hope and expect that his Majesty's government were disposed to afford him their assistance." Because of Williamson's failure to secure any commitment of "assistance" from the English government and though he still expected Williamson's return to the United States, at least early in 1806, Burr proposed to send another messenger to London to present a substitute plan that he hoped would receive more favorable consideration.<sup>38</sup> Burr needed financial aid no less than political prestige. In Williamson's continued absence he could only read the doom of his project.

Because the menace of France was real and the intentions of Napoleon uncertain, Williamson, at least with the knowledge if not at the suggestion of Lord Melville, returned to the United States in the early part of 1806 to learn firsthand the attitude of the government and people toward England and France and Spain and, perhaps, to determine Burr's real status, the progress he had made and what were his intentions. On his arrival in New York in April, 1806, Williamson found "serious hostility toward Great Britain" resulting from the accidental killing of an American citizen by a warning shot from one of the British warships blockading the port of New York in the business of exercising impressment search. About the same time Miranda, who had "attracted about him every ruined adventurer in [New York] society, among the rest a number of Burr's friends" and supporters, had compromised the Jefferson administration in the eyes of its enemies by the reception accorded him by Madison in his capacity as secretary of state. Soon afterwards Miranda had sailed from New York "with a party of filibusterers." Though Burr had spoken of Miranda with contempt, Jonathan Dayton, John Swartwout and others lent him aid and financial support. To save Madison, Jefferson removed W. S. Smith, Miranda's most active financial supporter, from his office as surveyor of the port of New York and indicted him, along with Ogden,

<sup>38</sup> Merry to Mulgrave, November 25, 1805, and Yrujo to Cevallos, December 5, 1805, January 1, 1806, quoted in Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 229, 234, 238.

the owner of the boat in which Miranda had sailed, but both were acquitted.<sup>39</sup>

When Burr returned to Washington from Vincennes in November, 1805, he immediately sought out first Merry and then Don Carlos Yrujo to find out what had transpired during his absence in the West and what measure of support he might expect either from the English or Spanish governments. The answers were none too reassuring. At the same time Burr conferred with some of the more prominent malcontents, such as General William Eaton and Commodore Truxton, who at the time were in the national capital, the first endeavoring to get his claim against the government paid, the other seeking vindication for his removal from the navy list. After a stay of some ten days in Washington, including a dinner with President Jefferson, Burr went to Philadelphia for further conferences and on December 12, 1805, wrote Wilkinson one of his mysterious letters. In the same month Burr wrote his first letter to Harman Blennerhassett. Soon afterwards he went south to visit his daughter Theodosia, returning in mid-February. On the thirteenth of the month he was in Richmond, Virginia. The next day he left for Washington and Philadelphia.<sup>40</sup>

At this time two events seem, finally, to have determined Burr in his future course. His friends in New York had agitated a coalition of the Clintonians and the Burrrites with a view to securing Burr's nomination and election to the office of governor of New York in succession to Morgan Lewis. Burr had been the subject of complimentary toasts at a dinner held on February 18, 1806, in New York City, but the efforts of his partisans came to nought and their announcement of a junction of forces was repudiated by the majority of the Republican party. To offset resistance and to clear Burr of any charges of intrigue and opposi-

<sup>39</sup> Williamson to Lord Melville, March 28, 1807, in Melville Papers; Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 189-94, 199.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 229, 234, 238, 248; Parton, *Life of Aaron Burr*, 401, 411; W. H. Safford (ed.), *The Blennerhassett Papers* (Cincinnati, 1891), 115; James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times* (Philadelphia, 1816), II, 305, and appendix LXXXIV; *Report of the [Bacon] Committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of General James Wilkinson* (Washington, 1811), 200; *Richmond Enquirer*, February 15, 1806.

tion to Jefferson in the election of 1801, Burr's friends renewed the suit against James Cheatham for libel. These ambitious and well-meant intentions failed to help Burr and indicated conclusively that he could not resume his part in New York state politics with any hope of success.<sup>41</sup>

Just as the New York politicians would not change their attitude toward Burr, so the country as a whole had come to be suspicious of his plans and intentions. From being flattered with attention by citizens and politicians alike, the country over, he now traveled about "an unknown and neglected stranger."<sup>42</sup>

The second incident that helped Burr to a decision on his plan of action desperate though it might be, was Jefferson's refusal to "engage" him in some government position, the decision being for "the public good." Jefferson based his refusal on the fact that "the public had withdrawn their confidence from him [Burr]." "From the time of [his] interview [with Jefferson], Burr set his face westward, resolved if possible to execute the enterprise," whatever it was, in the western country. On April 15, 1806, he wrote Blennerhassett, seeking the financial support so essential to carrying out his plans. On the next day he wrote Wilkinson of the delay in beginning the "projected speculation" but assuring him of his sincerity. The summer of 1806 was spent in efforts to obtain support, in money and men, and in rest and relaxation with his daughter and grandson in the country about Morristown, New Jersey. Early in August Burr began his westward journey, stopping at Bedford, Pennsylvania, and from there going on to Pittsburgh and down the Ohio to Marietta, Blennerhassett's Island, and so to the Mississippi.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, February 20, 1806. The New York *Evening Post*, February 20, 1806, printed a notice of the dinner, characterizing it as "an affair projected at Washington, approved at Albany and consummated at New York." The editor remarked that "anything so unparalleled in profligacy, so abhorrent to principle, so totally destitute of sentiment, so outrageous upon decency, never before was obtruded upon the public eye." The toast in tribute to Burr delivered by Dr. Peter Irving, an older brother of Washington Irving, was: "Aaron Burr, late Vice President of the United States—dignified in the chair; prompt in the cabinet; gallant in the field—may his country duly appreciate his talents and his services."

<sup>42</sup> Richmond *Enquirer*, February 15, March 7, 14, 18, April 15, 1806.

<sup>43</sup> Jefferson's "Anas," quoted in Parton, *Life of Aaron Burr*, 404; *ibid.*, 406; Burr to

On April 21, 1806, shortly after Williamson's arrival in New York, the ninth Congress adjourned. Burr had spent the spring of 1806 in a vain effort to secure sufficient funds to finance his undertaking into the Southwest. It may be assumed that Williamson advised him of his inability to secure any financial commitments from the British government. The closing of this and other possible avenues of support for a project, chimerical as it was for anyone in his right mind, caused Burr to write Wilkinson at St. Louis that "The execution of our project is postponed till December: [for] want of water in Ohio," that is, for want of funds. Burr's friends were as much as ever at a loss to understand what he was about. John Swartwout wrote William Van Ness, who had been Burr's second in his duel with Hamilton: "My brother Sam in Philad<sup>a</sup> will be absent some months. . . . Poor Burr is still wandering. What his ultimate destination will be is yet uncertain. Whether he will settle at Philad<sup>a</sup> Baltimore or in the Western Country is not I believe clearly settled in his own mind. he has many ardent friends in all those places." "Brother Sam" Swartwout was about to set off for the Southwest with Burr's letter to Wilkinson of July 29, 1806. In it Burr stated that the "protection of England" was secured and that he had "obtained funds and have actually commenced the enterprise." As to the attitude of Great Britain, in view of Williamson's correspondence, the statement was obviously untrue and designed to mislead. The source of "the funds" apparently was Blennerhassett, the trusting and soon to be disillusioned Irishman, who pledged and lost his fortune in support of Burr's schemes.<sup>44</sup>

Harman Blennerhassett, April 15, 1806, quoted in Safford (ed.), *Blennerhassett Papers*, 119-21; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, 305, 309-10, and appendix LXXXIII. At this time there were frequent reports that Burr was to be appointed minister to Great Britain. Cf. *New York Evening Post*, January 28, February 15, 19, 26, 1806. The editor of the *Newark Centinel* (quoted in *New York Evening Post*, February 19, 1806) remarked: "That the [S. S.] *Hornet* is to convey a sting to the Court of St. James cannot be doubted, but we never can believe that our government, on so critical an occasion, would send out a *thing* so ineffectual as a Burr!"

<sup>44</sup> Burr, from Philadelphia, to Wilkinson, at St. Louis, April 16, 1806, in Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, 310-11, and appendix LXXXIII; Burr to Wilkinson, July 29, 1806, *ibid.*, II, 315-17; John Swartwout, from New York, to William P. Van Ness, at Kinderhook,



From New York, Williamson reported that through his old acquaintances he "had an excellent opportunity of procuring information" regarding American feeling toward Great Britain and to evaluate "the appearance of disturbances in the U. States themselves, as well as some other objects I was desired to attend to." If he did not again meet Burr in person, it is certain he talked with many of his close friends and supporters. In any case his observations were such that he "thought immediate communication of these matters to [the] Government of sufficient importance to warrant returning without delay to Great Britain." He reached London again late in August, 1806. Burr was then on the Ohio gathering up the loose ends of his plans and preparing to sail for New Orleans by way of the Ohio and Mississippi.<sup>45</sup>

The story of Burr's progress down the Ohio and the Mississippi to Natchez is well known and need not be repeated here. Wilkinson's part in the abortive undertaking from being secondary, so far as Burr was concerned, had become of the utmost importance to the success of the undertaking. Because of Williamson's inability to secure active interest and co-operation on the part of the British government, the chances of success were illusory to say the least. On May 5, 1806, General Henry Dearborn, the secretary of war, ordered General Wilkinson to repair to Orleans Territory to prevent hostilities in that section on the part of the Spanish troops.<sup>46</sup>

During the summer of 1806 Wilkinson played out the opera bouffe of war against the Spaniards which terminated in the so-called Neutral Ground agreement signed early in November, 1806, but not until a considerable sum of money had been extracted from the trusting and gullible Spanish officials at the City of Mexico. Several weeks later Wilkinson departed for New Orleans where he arrived on November 25, 1806, and assumed active command. On December 14 arrests at

New York, July 19, 1806, in Van Ness Papers (in New York Public Library); Safford (ed.), *Blennerhassett Papers*, 119 ff.; Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 246.

<sup>45</sup> Williamson to Lord Melville, March 28, 1807, in Melville Papers.

<sup>46</sup> Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, 308-309, and appendix XC; Henry Dearborn, at Washington, to Wilkinson, at St. Louis, May 6, 1806, abstract in *Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson*, Pt. II, Vol. X, p. 21.

New Orleans began, the equivalent of martial law was established and the writ of habeas corpus suspended. Burr's letter of July 24, 1806, received by Wilkinson on October 8, was embodied in Wilkinson's proclamation as the basis and the authority for such unusual procedure. On January 10, 1807, Burr, on learning of Wilkinson's actions, deserted his flotilla, then on the Mississippi River above Natchez, and a week later "surrendered at discretion" to acting Governor Cowles Meade. The Conspiracy was at an end, but its reverberations, for years afterwards, plagued the participants, important and otherwise, and established the political ascendancy of Jefferson and his supporters in the government of the United States.<sup>47</sup>

An examination of Wilkinson's correspondence of this period with Burr, so far as it has been discovered, is innocuous with respect to any dark schemes of conquest, invasion, secession or revolution. There is no mention of Williamson or of any other emissary acting in Burr's interest either in England or elsewhere on the continent. In the interval between the departure of Wilkinson for St. Louis in March, 1805, and Burr's surrender in January, 1807, the two met only twice, once at Fort Massac (now Cairo), at the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, in June, 1805, when Burr was on his first trip to New Orleans, and again in September, 1805, on his return up the river to St. Louis, en route to Vincennes, where he talked with Harrison and from whence he went east to Philadelphia.<sup>48</sup>

What Burr and Wilkinson discussed and planned at these two meetings is not of record. Early in the spring of 1806 Wilkinson learned of Pitt's death in the previous January. In May, 1806, while at St. Louis, he received Burr's letter of April 16, 1806, written from Philadelphia. As a result he "could no longer doubt, that Colonel Burr was on the eve of attempting some enterprise, but, whether criminal or not, I was

<sup>47</sup> For Neutral Ground agreement, see McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 150 ff.; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, appendixes XCIII, XCV; Deposition of Colonel William Burling, Wilkinson's messenger to Mexico City, *ibid.*, appendix XCVII; Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 317 ff., 325-26; Wandell and Minnigerode, *Aaron Burr*, II, 100 ff.

<sup>48</sup> McCaleb, *Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 41 ff.

still unable to discover." Wilkinson replied to this letter on May 13. In the months that followed, Burr and Wilkinson each pursued their separate ways, Burr wandering about between Philadelphia and Kentucky and Wilkinson toying with the Spaniards along the Nueces in what is now Texas. On October 8, 1806, while in camp at Natchitoches, Wilkinson received the letter from Burr of July 29, 1806, brought by Samuel Swartwout. This letter moved Wilkinson to action. He delayed advising Jefferson of Burr's actions and supposed intentions as revealed in this letter, pending, as he said, an investigation of the truth and accuracy of his information. Swartwout left Wilkinson's camp on October 18; on October 20 and again on October 21 Wilkinson advised Jefferson of what he had done and of his plan of action and the reasons for it.<sup>49</sup>

On April 26, 1807, as the result of information obtained from an American friend who had sailed from New York in the previous month, Charles Williamson wrote Lord Melville that "the Govt of the U. S. had not been able to arrest the progress of B— that the objects of that person seemed to lay deeper than was first imagined. . . . That there was little doubt of the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. forces in Louisiana being concerned in the objects of B— and still less that the above mentioned Commander had received large sums of money from the French and Spanish Government." Williamson's informant stated that "the conduct of the U. S. Govt. in all this business seems feeble and inconsistent; and it was supposed it was extremely puzzled how to act." Six weeks later Williamson wrote the Lord Justice Clerk that "from a very respectable source" he had learned of Burr's forthcoming trial in Richmond. Williamson thought Burr

has brought himself into this dilemma by a premature action—trusting some improper men—I presume he gave himself the death blow, by the abandonment of some original plans and acting as the tool of the French and Spanish ministers. As a man [Williamson felt] sorry for him [Burr]—but whatever reasons he had for acting thus, *I feel happy as a British subject* that he has failed—

<sup>49</sup> Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II, 309-10, 321-23; Wilkinson to Jefferson, October 20, 21, 1806, *ibid.*, appendix XCV.

I think it extremely probable that the schemes of the French minister relative to Louisiana and the western part of the United States may be exposed in the course of this Tryal [of Burr] and at this moment it may act very favorable in the interests of Britain.

A month later Williamson again wrote, as the result of receiving "A packet of letters from America" that

If we had let Burr alone he would have attacked Mexico I have no doubt & the opinion is very much abroad that Wilkinson deceived him—and instead of joining him as he had reason to believe he would, from some cause or other (some think bribery by the Spaniards) took part against him—and overset the whole. . . . There is some things extremely dark to me yet in the project of Burr so far as relates to the connection with the French or Spanish minister—it is not at all impossible that aware of what would happen they first got B— into their hands, and then bribed Wilkinson who commanded the American U. S. forces to betray him &c—I think however that B— will finally extricate himself from the present embar[r]assment, and that in the sad state of tumult and confusion which the U. States are hourly approaching one party or other will put themselves under his direction—From what I know of the man his pride and ambition to appear high in the eyes of men, must have met a dreadful blow—and his whole soul will be bent on rising above it—there can be no doubt but he will get an opportunity before long—<sup>50</sup>

During the period following his return to London in the early fall of 1806, though Williamson sought no position "in office" he did what he could to promote friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States. He could "not regard with indifference any thing between . . . the two countries . . . as they have a mutual interest." He thought the government of the United States feeble and was constantly preaching the necessity for Great Britain to be prepared to intervene forcibly in case Spain or more particularly France should attack the United States at New Orleans or through Mobile or elsewhere. With this object in view he had numerous conversations with Lord Melville, recently acquitted of the charges made against him and now about to be restored to his former position of authority in the British ministry. Melville preferred "the establishment of our power in Mexico over an expedition directed at Monte Video" in South America. He advised Cas-

<sup>50</sup> Williamson to Lord Melville, April 26, 1807, in Melville Papers (italics not in the original); Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, June 5, July 12, 1807, *ibid.*

tlereagh, the British war minister, not to "form your opinion at second hand," but to "converse" with Williamson and "then form your own opinion." Melville thought highly of Williamson's ability and knowledge and particularly noted "the clearness of his head, the accuracy of his information and the acuteness of his understanding." At the same time, during this winter of 1807, Williamson also talked frequently to his kinsman, General Sir Archibald Robertson, a retired British army officer of long experience, relative to steps to be taken for the protection of the Gulf coast and ports. While in the midst of these conversations Williamson was again called into active service.<sup>51</sup>

On January 8, 1808, Miranda wrote Lord Castlereagh, announcing his arrival in London. He renewed his pleas for British help in his revolutionary efforts in South America. Though William Pitt was no more, Miranda found other British ministers who were ready to consider the revolutionary projects he had freshly formulated. Thoughtful Englishmen were taking more interest in preventing the Spanish heritage in America from falling into the hands of the apparently invincible Napoleon. In June, 1806, a British force had assaulted and taken Buenos Aires, but soon afterwards it was compelled to withdraw. In the spring of the following year, Castlereagh, who had been returned to the British war office, "entered warmly into the plans of detaching South America from Old Spain." In June, 1808, it was decided to send confidential dispatches to the Duke of Manchester, governor of Jamaica, "to take immediate measures for opening a communication with Cuba, and for inducing the Spanish government [now an ally] to act in con-

<sup>51</sup> Williamson to Lord Justice Clerk, *ibid*; Melville to Lord Castlereagh, June 8, 1808, in Charles Vane (ed.), *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh, Second Marquess of Londonderry* (London, 1848-1853), VII, 446-47; General Sir Archibald Robertson to Lord Melville, December 23, 1807, January 4, 25, February 14, 1808 (ALS in the MS. room, New York Public Library, also abstracted in New York Public Library *Bulletin*, XXXVII [1933], 124 ff.) About this time Williamson prepared a memorial, apparently for Lord Melville, which was published in pamphlet form and which apparently was designed to arouse public interest in British opportunities for conquest and trade in the Spanish possessions of South America. Cf. pamphlet (5 pp.) by Colonel Charles Williamson containing an *Account of the Government in America* (London, 1808), described in *Catalogue* no. 493, lot 269, of Francis Edwards, Bookseller, London, 1927.

cert for preventing that island from falling into the power of Buonaparte." Williamson was selected for the mission, having been recommended by his friend Lord Melville.<sup>52</sup>

In the interval since he had returned from his last trip to the United States, Williamson's erstwhile friend, Aaron Burr, had been arrested, tried and acquitted, but was again a fugitive from the law, a wanderer in his native land. In April, 1808, a certain Mr. Edwards came to New York to seek a vagrant shelter in the homes of various old friends of the once famous and powerful Aaron Burr. On June 9, passenger Edwards, soon to be identified as Burr, set sail from New York for Falmouth, England. On July 16, as Williamson landed in Jamaica, Burr reached London. He had written ahead of his pending visit and had in fact acted as an escort to Williamson's young son, going to join his father in England. When he reached London, Burr found a note from Williamson telling of his sudden departure for Jamaica.<sup>53</sup>

While Burr agitated the idea of revolutionizing the Spanish dominions in the New World, Williamson pursued the object of his mission. Though Burr and Miranda were both in London at this period and probably met through their mutual friend, Jeremy Bentham, there is no evidence that they acted together to achieve their common purpose. Burr's opinion of Miranda was not flattering. The latter returned the compliment with the remark that "I never had any connection with this strange Being, and much less compatibility of Ideas or sentiments." Williamson, on his part, following his arrival at Jamaica in the ship

<sup>52</sup> Miranda to Lord Castlereagh, January 3, 1808, in Vane (ed.), *Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, VII, 403 ff.; Castlereagh to Duke of Manchester, June 20, 1808, *ibid.*, VI, 375; Castlereagh to Williamson, June 4, 1808, *ibid.*, 369. Williamson was "allowed for your expenses £800 a year whilst employed and will receive £500 in advance on your salary."

<sup>53</sup> Early in the year 1808 Williamson wrote Lord Melville that Swartwout "was sent to London by Mr. B.[urr] with the intention of finding me out to make confidential communications to me as to Mr. B's. situation and present objects—to inform me that it was his intention to visit London . . . and to put himself in the way of receiving information from me." Williamson to Lord Melville, February 9, 1808, in Melville Papers; Williamson to Burr, June 19, 1808, and Burr to Williamson, July 19, 1808, in M. L. Davis (ed.), *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr, During His Residence of Four Years in Europe* (New York, 1838), I, 23-24.

*Flying Fish* on July 16, 1808, delivered his dispatches to the Duke of Manchester. Several weeks later he proceeded to Havana, but here his mission came to an end. On the commencement of the war in Spain it was necessary to direct the forces, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley and destined for American waters, to proceed to the Spanish peninsula. Thus Wellesley was started on that remarkable career that reached its zenith on the field of Waterloo and that made him immortal as the Duke of Wellington.<sup>54</sup>

Early in September, 1808, Williamson, in accordance with his instructions, sailed from Havana for London in "His Majesty's sloop of war Phipps," but en route he died of yellow fever on September 4, 1808.<sup>55</sup> So ended an adventurous and interesting career. Burr was deprived of a true friend and a valuable and helpful medium for keeping his schemes before the English government.

The foregoing narrative suggests certain conclusions with respect to the so-called Conspiracy as an episode in early American history and to the parts played in it by Burr, Williamson, and Wilkinson respectively. Available evidence indicates that Burr's plans changed as conditions changed and that he did not keep Williamson properly and accurately informed as to the nature of these successive changes. Burr used Williamson merely as a means of securing funds from the British government. Williamson does not seem ever to have appeared before the assembled British cabinet, but it is evident that he established close personal contacts with Pitt, Lord Melville, and other prominent members of the British ministry and that he was constantly sending written ideas and suggestions to them. Burr, as with Miranda before him, allowed himself to believe that Pitt's Tory ministry could be induced "to carry on an unselfish war to bring about Spanish American independence" and to strengthen the forces in America that were opposed to French and Spanish influence.

<sup>54</sup> Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda," *loc. cit.*, 409-10, 412-13; Vane (ed.), *Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, VII, 441-42; Robertson, *Life of Miranda*, II, 246; *Works of Jeremy Bentham* (Edinburgh, 1843), X, 432-34.

<sup>55</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, C (1808), 953.

When Burr discerned that his first proposals to the British government would not secure the financial aid so essential to the carrying out of his plan of operation in the Southwest, he sent "new ideas" to Williamson in the hope that he would be able to secure some sort of a favorable opinion if not actual cash before his "expected return" to the United States early in 1806.<sup>56</sup> What these "new ideas" were is not known. In the meantime, Burr was also trying to extract money from the Spanish and French governments. Likewise, he is reported to have sent "supplementary instructions" to Williamson by Erik Bollman, one of his aides in the Conspiracy.<sup>57</sup> But Pitt was still unimpressed. Napoleon relentlessly destroyed all who stood in his way. Only England remained to be disposed of. The knowledge of the situation gave Pitt many sleepless nights. Each day he was less disposed to any other than lip philanthropy to those seeking England's aid. Miranda was flattered with promises of support, but finally left England in disgust equipped only with empty benedictions. Burr, as represented by Williamson, fared little better. Because Williamson had more interest in British security and dominance than in any illusory expansion through association with another ally who needed help in order even to be an ally, he did not press too firmly for a definitive reply.

A careful study of the available letters written by Burr, Daniel Clark, John Adair, Wilkinson, and Jonathan Dayton to each other seems to indicate conclusively that Burr was ever the principal and the others merely seconds to be made use of whenever and wherever needed. All of the initiative came from Burr who wrote Wilkinson twelve letters in the period from March, 1805, until July, 1806, only three of them in 1806. Wilkinson wrote Burr three letters, so far as is known, two of them in 1805 and one in 1806. In view of the part ascribed to Wilkinson in the origin and working out of the so-called

<sup>56</sup> Yrujo to Cevallos, December 5, 1805, in Adams, *History of the United States*, III, 234-35.

<sup>57</sup> Yrujo to Cevallos, January 6, 1806, regarding Yrujo's conversation with Jonathan Dayton, *ibid.*, 237-38.



Conspiracy, this is a very scant correspondence when the preparations that had to be made and the ever-changing nature of the project are considered. In the interval from the time Wilkinson left Washington in March, 1805, until the end of 1806, Wilkinson saw Burr in person on two occasions, three months apart, and before his plans had taken any definite or permanent form.

In Washington, in the winter of 1804-1805 and again at these two meetings in the western country, Burr and Wilkinson undoubtedly decided on a general objective and discussed a plan of action. Wilkinson's adherence was absolutely necessary to Burr's success because he controlled the army and through it the means of public control via the courts and the press. Keen-witted and alert for his own interest as Wilkinson was, any arrangements he made with Burr, necessarily, were subject to change without notice and at Wilkinson's discretion. His past record was against him and Burr should have known better than to have depended on such a pliable and uncertain support. McCaleb, the best authority on the Conspiracy, though he devotes an entire chapter to "Wilkinson's Duplicity" and his exposure of Burr, does not accuse him of more than a general knowledge of Burr's plans and intentions. Burr's plans probably contemplated three possibilities: first, war with Spain; second, a revolution in the United States; and third, a union with Miranda. Wilkinson could provoke the first or support the second, but joint action with Miranda did not interest him as it did not present any opportunities for personal distinction. The general feeling toward Spain was such that "On the 4th of July [1806]," says Parton, "there were not a thousand persons in the United States who did not think war with Spain inevitable, impending, begun!" Wilkinson attended to this, however. He inveigled a substantial bribe from the Spanish officials to keep the peace and then exposed Burr. The collapse of the Conspiracy soon followed. Wilkinson with all his greed and duplicity had preserved his country's territory inviolate, had strengthened Jefferson's position, and had gained for himself a temporary glory that in the end, however, profited him nothing.

Whatever the participation of others in Burr's venture, their rôles, from the most important to the least significant, were essentially secondary to that played by Burr. Burr had the vision; Burr prepared the plans; Burr secured all the funds that were collected; Burr chose his associates and, so far as he could, directed their activities; Burr furnished the leadership. To the extent that there was a Conspiracy, albeit an opportunistic one, it was truly Burr's. It was characterized throughout by the crooked intrigue and double dealing for which he was noted. Not the least conspicuous of Burr's victims was Williamson who seems never to have been informed precisely or to have understood Burr's purposes. He only served as an instrument, an agent. Williamson, on his part, was willing to believe that Burr's project contemplated opposition to Spain and France in the interest both of the United States and of Great Britain. To the end he was rabid in his fear of and opposition to France, and was almost equally scornful of the "Frenchified" Jefferson administration.

# Property Rights in the Provincial System of Maryland: Proprietary Revenues

By CHARLES A. BARKER

The one permanent aim and policy of the lords proprietor of Maryland in the eighteenth century was the preservation and protection of their property rights in the province.<sup>1</sup> A great number of the proprietary papers—many of the commissions, instructions, and letters passing from the Lords Baltimore and their secretaries in England to the lieutenant governors and the other high officials in Maryland, and letters from the officials in Maryland to their superiors in England—bear elaborate testimony to the priority which quitrents, manor rents, officers' fees, the income from permanent duties, and other revenues held in the minds of those in power in Maryland. The plans which were suggested and the steps which were taken to guarantee and to increase the proprietary revenues have been considered in the preceding paper. Here will be attempted a statement, as exact as the facts and figures will allow, of what was actually at stake. To what sorts of revenues did the proprietary element in Maryland have access? What sums were involved? Were the financial privileges of the rulers of the province great enough to have social and economic significance?<sup>2</sup>

The actual worth in pounds sterling of the property interests of the lord proprietor is indicated with reasonable accuracy by a broken series

<sup>1</sup> A companion study, subtitled "Proprietary Policy," appeared in the February, 1936, number of the *Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> The problem of political significance raises so many questions concerning the history of the Maryland assembly, that it is merely referred to here. The attack of the lower house on proprietary privileges will be discussed at length elsewhere.

of annual accounts—the original “accounts current” rendered by the agent to the lord proprietor—in the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>3</sup> The figures are almost complete for 1731 and 1733, and, after a hiatus, may be made so for eighteen of the years, ending at Michaelmas, between 1747 and 1775. The accounts show that Lord Baltimore’s private revenues fell into three main categories, the income from land, the income from the permanent customs duties, and the income from minor sources, namely, the fines, forfeitures, and amercements collected in the law courts, and the fees paid for ferry licenses and rangers’ commissions.<sup>4</sup> The accounts do not show that any revenues ever accrued from fees for pilots’ licenses, or such royal perquisites, to which Lord Baltimore under the charter of 1732 enjoyed full right, and which he expected to be realized, as waifs, deodands, treasure trove, and the like.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Calvert Papers, MSS. no. 912, 914, 922, 927, 932, 935, 939, 955, 956, 960, 963, 977, 1028, 1030, in the Maryland Historical Society. The original accounts are for the years 1731, 1733, 1748, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1773, and 1774, and for the periods from November 30, 1769, to September 4, 1771, and from September 4, 1771, to Michaelmas, 1773. Statistics in these accounts are supplemented by others collected by George Chalmers, the contemporary historian who resided for a time in Maryland. Chalmers’ figures, which are for the period from October, 1762, to September, 1771, apparently were taken from “accounts current,” most of the originals of which are no longer of record. Where they are for the same items as in the remaining originals, the two agree perfectly. They are to be found in manuscript in the Chalmers Papers, Maryland, II, in the New York Public Library.

<sup>4</sup> There is a summary description of the proprietors’ revenues in John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland, from its Colonization to the present day* (Baltimore, 1831), 169-82. For a precise and full statement of the revenues the agent was expected to collect, to disburse, and to remit to Lord Baltimore, see the instructions drawn up by the board of revenue for Bennet Allen, June 30, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 400-407.

<sup>5</sup> There is no need to discuss here the politically involved question of the revenues from ordinary licenses. They were claimed by Frederick, Lord Baltimore, as a proprietary right which he could assign the secretary, but even members of the provincial council thought the claim invalid, and after 1739 the revenues seem never to have been collected except when the assembly appropriated them for war expenses. See Daniel Dulany to Calvert, September 10, 1764, *Calvert Papers*, II (Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications*, no. 34 [1894]), 240; Baltimore to Governor Horatio Sharpe, February 7, 1765, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 193-95; and Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1901), 319-32, 353-60.

As the feudal tenant in chief of all Maryland, owing the king but two Indian arrowheads annually for his great privileges, Lord Baltimore enjoyed all the revenues from granting and renting land as fully as the crown in the royal colonies. These revenues fell into four kinds, namely, in order of amount, the quitrents, the returns from the land office, which were derived chiefly from caution (purchase) money payments for freeholds newly granted, manor rents, and alienation fines. A glance at the record of these revenues for the forty years for which there are records shows wide fluctuations in their yield. As periods of peace and war affected favorably and unfavorably the occupation of the back country and the flow of trade, the lord proprietor's income increased and decreased. But there is apparent a general upward trend, reflecting permanent gains in the population,<sup>6</sup> which is very marked.

The table on the following page indicates,<sup>7</sup> in pounds sterling, the amounts of the lord proprietor's revenues from land, as the colonial agents reported them and as fully as the existing records permit. The quitrent column reveals that at the close of the provincial period the normal expectation from this source lay between £7000 and £7500 annually. This was about thirty per cent more than during the interval of peace between the third and fourth intercolonial wars, and the increase must have derived, for the most part, from new grants,<sup>8</sup> although more effective administration may have been a factor. The income from the land office, which rose to nearly £5000 in the period

<sup>6</sup> The population of Maryland was approximately doubling in thirty-year intervals. In 1728 it was 80,000 and in 1755 it reached 153,564; in 1748 it was 130,000, and in 1775, probably 250,000. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), 125-27.

<sup>7</sup> The figures referring to the years 1733 through 1761, except those marked with an asterisk, are taken from MSS. in the Calvert Papers exclusively, and the later figures from MSS. in both the Calvert Papers and the Chalmers Papers. For an exact designation, see above, p. 212, n. 3. In the quitrent column the figures for 1731 and 1733 represent returns from tobacco duty equivalent for quitrents, which was then in force; and the figures marked with asterisks are those of Professor Beverly W. Bond, in *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies* (New Haven, 1919), 216 n.

<sup>8</sup> As the population nearly doubled in this period, either a subdivision of freeholds, probably by inheritance, or an increase in renting, or, as is most likely, both, are indicated.

of peace between 1748 and 1754 and above that figure at the close of the French and Indian War, but which was tapering off to less than £2000 after 1772, reflects the changing conditions of settlement in

<i>Year Ending Michaelmas</i>	<i>Quit Rents</i>			<i>Land Office Income</i>			<i>Manor Rents</i>			<i>Alienation Fines</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1731	5,204	9	0	964	9	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	135	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....
1733	6,515	8	1	660	14	3	170	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	.....	.....
1748	4,339	11	7	2,522	19	5	703	18	9	130	16	6
1752	5,013	15	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,048	16	3	1,058	11	2	150	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1753	5,752	4	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *	.....	.....	.....	731	3	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	149	15	10
1754	5,325	12	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *	4,678	8	11	813	16	0	114	14	2
1755	5,126	2	4*	2,747	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	374	10	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	145	17	3
1756	5,121	3	11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *	1,993	13	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	900	17	2	143	10	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1757	6,082	17	0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *	1,484	5	4	1,297	0	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	158	12	5
1758	8,593	16	4*	1,574	18	0	1,033	7	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	136	19	6
1759	5,814	10	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	3,369	10	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,134	4	6	166	5	1
1760	6,093	19	7 $\frac{3}{4}$ *	4,621	13	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,251	14	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	104	16	3
1761	8,383	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ *	6,113	15	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	958	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	237	17	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
1768	7,416	4	4	1,548	9	0	78	12	6	85	10	11
1769	7,118	16	10	2,771	3	4	1,467	2	11	142	5	9
1770	7,067	7	5	2,428	7	1	986	15	0	217	15	9
1771	6,230	13	8	2,590	8	5	1,037	5	0	198	0	8
1772	7,604	4	8	2,221	13	3	345	7	6	168	14	4
1773	7,604	4	8	1,976	13	5	345	7	6	168	14	4
1774	7,499	14	8	1,939	9	7	322	11	6	186	17	8

Maryland. The rises coincided with the German infiltration of the back country and with the increased security there at the close of the wars; and the declines coincided with fighting on the frontier and with the rapid reduction of ungranted land east of the Proclamation Line which had occurred by the end of the provincial era. Manor rents also varied with changing conditions. They increased, as the number of Germans increased, to a high point of about £1200, and decreased, although with irregularities that are difficult to explain, except as the result of the changes in administration and accounting, as the manor lands were sold.

All types considered, the lord proprietor's revenues from land are very impressive. In return for his privilege of being the tenant in chief

of a growing province the lord proprietor received, on an average, for the years from 1768 to 1774, inclusive, £10,267, net, annually, in sterling exchange payable in London.

The second great category of the lord proprietor's personal revenues consisted of the income from two permanent duty laws, the twelve pence per hogshead duty on tobacco exported, passed in 1704 for the support of the government and in 1733 definitely assumed by the lord proprietor, and the so-called port, or tonnage, duty of 1661. As originally passed, the act of 1661 required a payment of gunpowder for the defense of the province from each vessel entering and clearing in a Maryland port, vessels owned in the province alone excepted. By custom the payment was early commuted to money, at fourteen pence per ton, and collected by the naval officers for the proprietor's own use. This change the privy council itself confirmed, during the period of royal government, when it assigned the money from the tonnage duty to Lord Baltimore as his own private income,<sup>9</sup> like the revenue from quitrents. The income from these duties, along with that from the third category, or minor sources of the lord proprietor's income, is stated in pounds sterling in the table<sup>10</sup> on the following page.

<sup>9</sup> Almeric W. Fitzroy (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, II (London, 1910), 248. For an elaborate account of this revenue, and a justification of it and other private revenues of the lord proprietor, see Daniel Dulany, *The Right to the Tonnage, the Duty of Twelve Pence per Hogshead on all exported Tobacco, and the Fines and Forfeitures in the Province of Maryland . . .* (Annapolis, 1766), 3-9. See also Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 90-91.

<sup>10</sup> Figures for the years 1748 and 1752-1755 placed between the "Hogshead Duty" and "Tonnage Duty" columns represent the combined revenues from both duties. In these cases no statistics are available for the duties separately. The returns from the hogshead duty for 1731 and 1733 are computed as they would have been had they not been combined with the quitrent equivalent. Figures in the "Minor Revenues" column when not followed by the capital letters "FR" all represent the income from fines and forfeitures in the law courts (which the lord proprietor received as governor rather than as proprietor, for they were withheld during the royal government), and a small "c" indicates receipt in provincial currency, about two-thirds as valuable as sterling. The figures followed by "FR" indicate income, noted for three years only, from the issue of ferry licenses and rangers' commissions.

These statistics are derived for the most part from the documents listed on p. 212, n. 3, but MSS. no. 930, 931, 933, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 978, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, and 1017 in the Calvert Papers have also been used.

The tobacco and tonnage duties varied from year to year, in exact proportion, respectively, with the exportation of tobacco and with the trade in out-of-province vessels. Like the land revenues, the income from the duties fluctuated, declining sharply in time of war and in-

Year Ending Michaelmas	Hogshead Duty			Combined Duties			Tonnage Duty			Minor Revenues		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1731	1,478	13	6				768	5	8	9	1	0½
1731										13	10	0 FR
1733	1,578	3	0				993	2	11	37	7	10½
1733										15	2	6 FR
1748				2,314	6	8						
1752				2,347	15	2						
1753				1,290	11	7*				11	17	6
1754				2,544	3	1				28	12	9½
1755				1,807	9	10				75	10	2c
1755										2	17	0 FR
1756	1,340	7	0				1,012	0	6	71	4	11c
1757	1,102	8	2				723	14	8½	206	13	9½c
1758	1,428	5	5½				1,004	3	10	67	12	2½c
1759	946	2	3				827	13	2½	274	7	1½c
1760	1,066	7	9½				877	11	6	115	6	4c
1761	2,141	0	0				1,508	1	0	159	2	2½c
1768	1,204	13	4				1,107	19	1	20	14	9
1769	1,197	1	6				1,328	2	8	137	9	8
1770	1,185	5	9				1,493	16	2	131	13	7
1771	1,457	14	0				1,382	14	9	30	12	9
1772	1,674	15	9				1,473	15	6	52	0	6
1773	1,674	15	9				1,473	15	6	52	0	6
1774	1,564	15	4				1,623	17	6	67	7	1

\* Incomplete.

creasing in time of peace; and, also like the land revenues and for the same basic reason, namely, that new settlement was increasing toward the middle of the century and tapering off thereafter, the income from the duties showed a general increase with a leveling off at the end of the provincial period.<sup>11</sup> The duties are another indication of the close

<sup>11</sup> The change in the yield of the tobacco duty from amounts considerably larger than the returns from the tonnage duty to amounts about the same or even smaller, is one indication, among many, of the relative decline of tobacco in the Maryland economy.



connection between the economic condition of the province and the personal wealth of the lord proprietor.

From the several sources the gross income of the lords proprietor from Maryland ran into large figures. In 1731 and 1733 the agent's accounts balanced at £6620 4 s. 9¼ d. and at £8091 9 s. 5½ d., in 1748 at £11,652 7 s. 0 d., and in 1754 at £16,440 1 s. 1¾ d. During the French and Indian War the balance dropped as low as £10,655 16 s. 4¼ d.; but in 1760 and 1761, when conditions of peace were restored in Maryland, it rose to the high points of £17,422 14 s. 0⅛ d. and £18,994 17 s. 6⅝ d.; and from 1768 through 1774 the annual account averaged £13,171 19 s. 2½ d. Against these large, and, through the period as a whole, increasing revenues, few and relatively insignificant charges were made in Maryland. From year to year the only debits for expenses entered in the accounts were the following: for the governor's salary, £1000, or, after 1756, the entire amount of the tobacco duty if it were more than £1000; for the agent's salary, usually £150, but after the establishment of the board of revenue, £500; for the rent-roll keepers, a five per cent commission on quitrents; and, occasionally, minor charges, such as a gift of a few pounds by Lord Baltimore to a school or an expenditure of a few shillings for stationery, and the like.<sup>12</sup> These debits ordinarily amounted to about £2000, with the result that all the remainder, or about five-sixths of the gross receipts, was transferred, as his net private revenue, to the lord proprietor. In war and peace, therefore, and whatever the prosperity or poverty of the province, he received a munificent income. To compare with the total balances given above, from the 1731 account, Lord Baltimore received £5055 0 s. 6½ d.; from the 1733 account, £5969 10 s. 11 d.; from that of 1748, £9880 17 s. 1 d.; from that of 1754, £14,960 12 s. 8 d.; from that of 1760, £14,828 18 s. 9⅜ d.; and from that of 1761, £15,976 0 s. 2⅞ d. In the nine years from 1762 to 1771 his agents transferred to

<sup>12</sup> See the board of revenue's instructions to Bennet Allen, June 30, 1768, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 400-407.

Lord Baltimore a total of £118,952 2 s. 3 d., or an average of £13,216 18 s. 0 1/3 d. annually.

This transfer of credit was on so large a scale that it must have had a genuine economic as well as a personal and political importance. During the last two decades of the Colonial period the yearly value of the export trade of Maryland varied approximately from £175,000 to £225,000,<sup>13</sup> and the great part of this trade, passing to the mother country in the form of tobacco and iron, represented the power of the province to purchase the manufactures, the luxuries, and the education abroad, for which, as a staple agricultural colony, it was very largely dependent on Great Britain. Lord Baltimore's revenues, therefore, amount to a levy of from six to seven and one-half per cent on such purchases. The personal maintenance of a lord proprietor, through the perpetuation of an ancient land law and the administration of a system of revenues, was, in cold statistical fact and in terms of standards of living in the province, an expensive luxury for the province to support.

If, as head of the provincial system, the lord proprietor, living in England, was the great beneficiary of the property rights inherent in the system, so likewise all the lesser officials enjoyed a share of the benefits. But as the incomes of the lesser officials derived from sources different from those tapped by the lord proprietor, or from the same sources before the revenues were handed to the agent, they do not appear with the proprietor's income in the annual accounts by the agents,<sup>14</sup> and information about them is fugitive. The provincial official was paid in one or more of four ways: first, by allowances for days of service, as in the cases of members of both houses of assembly, the clerks of the houses, and the judges; second, by commissions on monies collected, as with the naval officers and the receivers of quitrents; third, by the receipt of fees for individual services rendered, as in the cases of the

<sup>13</sup> This estimate is made with reference to many scattered materials, but see, especially, Sharpe's answers to queries of the board of trade, August 23, 1756, and December 21, 1761, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXI, 145; XXXII, 24.

<sup>14</sup> The salaries of the governor and agent and the commissions of the rent-roll keepers are exceptions.

chancellor (always the governor), the deputy secretary, the commissary general, the surveyor general, the naval officers, the sheriffs, and the county clerks, commissaries, and surveyors; and fourth, by the receipt of a fixed annual sum from, or a fixed annual proportion of, the income of a lesser official, as in the case of the secretary and deputy secretary.<sup>15</sup> Income from these sources was nowhere subject to a general accounting or budgeting, and was always regarded as a very private matter. After an appointment, apparently as a naval officer,<sup>16</sup> in 1744, Edmund Jennings wrote Lord Baltimore that from the best information he could get the net income from his new office should come to about £260 sterling. The idea implied in his statement, that there was no way for one not actually holding an office to know its precise value, certainly represented the truth of a quarter century later, when John Morton Jordan came to Maryland as Lord Baltimore's special financial emissary. Directed to inquire into the value of various provincial offices, Jordan wrote that reports varied greatly and none was to be relied upon, and that he could not possibly make definite statements about the income of the officials unless Lord Baltimore would send special instructions ordering that the "Fee Book of the Office," a record which seems not to have survived, be opened to him.<sup>17</sup>

A few times, however, in the thirty years before the Revolution, a little information about the value of the great offices was obtained and

<sup>15</sup> It was a normal practice for the county clerks to pay one-tenth of their incomes from fees to the deputy secretary, who appointed them (Lower House Journal, May 14, 1750, *Archives of Maryland*, XLVI, 389-91). There is also evidence that "gifts" were made by appointees to county clerkships to the secretary, at the time of assuming office ("The Case of Dennis Dulany," an undated MS. of about 1760, Dulany Papers, II, no. 77, in Maryland Historical Society). By an arrangement made while he was still a minor, Frederick, Lord Baltimore, required that the governor contribute £200 annually, the deputy secretary, £50, the commissary general, £100, and the judges of the land office, £100, to make up a "salary" of £450 for Secretary Calvert (Baltimore to Governor Samuel Ogle, September 17, 1751, *Calvert Papers*, II, 120).

<sup>16</sup> The letter is damaged. Jennings to Baltimore, August 29, 1744, MS. in Calvert Papers, no. 1121, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>17</sup> Jordan to Baltimore, undated MS. in Calvert Papers, no. 1300, Maryland Historical Society.

made public by the lower house.<sup>18</sup> More important for the record, three estimates have been preserved, each of which gives a more or less systematic evaluation of most of the proprietary offices. The first, referring to about 1745, was perhaps compiled, as internal evidence suggests, in aid of the effort made by the lower house between 1739 and 1745, to obtain crown government in place of proprietary in Maryland, but this is not certain.<sup>19</sup> The second, dated in 1754, seems to have been a memorandum,<sup>20</sup> possibly for the use of Governor Horatio Sharpe, then a newcomer in Maryland. The third estimate was prepared by Governor Sharpe with the aid of his council in 1761, as part of a report to the British board of trade.<sup>21</sup> As the figures in the lists are too incomplete and too disparate to supply averages, they are given in full in the table below, in the columns designated by the dates of the estimates. The other columns give comparable valuations, for the most part calculated and averaged from the tobacco fees, reported to the lower house in 1753 and 1770, for the years from 1745 through 1752 and from 1763 through 1769. A few estimates from scattered sources are included. Constructed from such sources the table is no more than a shadowing of the full statistical truth, but it is perhaps a more accurate shadowing than any single man of the time could have supplied.

<sup>18</sup> The lower house obtained this information when it was deliberating about legislation to restrict tobacco production and to limit fees (in tobacco). See *Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly* (Annapolis, 1754, 1771), October 23, 1753, and October 3, 1770; *Maryland Gazette*, October 8, 1770; and McMahon, *Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, 382 n.

<sup>19</sup> "A List of the several Public Offices, Ecclesiastical Preferments, and other Places of Profit, in the province of Maryland, with their Revenues; in whose Distribution as a Proprietary Government," in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections* (Boston), Ser. I, Vol. VII (1801), 202-203. The document as published is undated and bears no reference to the original source, but it refers to the proprietorship of Charles, Lord Baltimore, and to conditions of war.

<sup>20</sup> List of civil officers in Maryland, MS. in Portfolio no. 3, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>21</sup> Governor Sharpe, answers to queries, January 14, 1762, Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties, XXI (1), transcripts (under the old classification) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See Proceedings of the Council, December 21, 1761, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 22.

Estimated Annual Value of Provincial Offices (in pounds sterling).<sup>22</sup>

OFFICE	1745	1754	1761	1745-1752	1763-1769
Lieutenant governor and chancellor.....	1550	1000	1200	.....	1861 <sup>d</sup>
Deputy secretary.....	800	842	300	781	1116
Commissary general <sup>a</sup> .....	900	644	250	902	1000
Agent.....		200	.....	.....	100, 150, 500 <sup>e</sup>
Two judges of the land office, each.....		298	300	453	865
Two treasurers, each.....	125	.....	40	.....	.....
Attorney general.....		106	50	.....	.....
Two surveyors general, each <sup>b</sup> .....		151, 86	130	.....	.....
Examiner general.....		100	.....	.....	235 <sup>f</sup>
Two rent-roll keepers, each.....					175 <sup>g</sup>
Five naval officers, each.....	150	168	50 to 150	.....	.....
Three commissioners, paper currency office, each.....	40	53	50	.....	.....
County clerks, each.....	115	.....	80 to 200	.....	.....
Sheriffs, each.....	200	.....	80 to 200	.....	.....
Deputy commissaries, each.....	.....	.....	10 to 20	.....	.....
Deputy surveyors, each.....	.....	.....	10, £0 to 150 <sup>c</sup>	.....	.....
Clerkships, average.....	.....	.....	50 to 130	.....	.....
of council.....	160	85	.....	.....	.....
of upper house.....	.....	76	.....	.....	9 <sup>f</sup>
of lower house.....	50	.....	.....	.....	.....
of secretary's office.....	65	.....	.....	.....	.....
of provincial court.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
of paper currency office.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....
Registerships.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
of commissary's office.....	80	.....	.....	.....	.....
of land office.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Armory keeper.....	40	.....	.....	.....	.....
	9550		8460		

While there are three important types of officials whose incomes are not represented here—the judges, the members of the assembly, and the

<sup>22</sup> Many of the original figures are stated precisely, in pounds, shillings, and pence, but for convenience such figures are here reproduced only to the nearest pound. In the original estimate, reproduced in the 1754 column, only the salaries of the governor and agent are given in sterling. The others, given in provincial currency, have been evaluated in sterling at the prevailing rate, approximately £150 currency for £100 sterling. See Clarence P. Gould, *Money and Transportation in Maryland, 1720-1765* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science [Baltimore], XXXIII [1915], no. 1), 33, 98. In translating the tobacco fee incomes of the deputy secretary, the

lesser officials of the land system, such as the receivers of quitrents and the stewards of manors—, the estimated incomes above do indicate in an approximate way the money value of the patronage in offices controlled by the proprietary element.<sup>23</sup> But £8460, the total of the estimate

commissary general, and the judges of the land office into sterling, tobacco has been rated at 8 s. 6 d. per hundredweight, a conservative value and the one used by Governor Sharpe for a similar purpose in preparing his "exact estimate" of 1767, at a time of low tobacco prices.

<sup>a</sup> The office of commissary general was sometimes divided between two holders.

<sup>b</sup> The governor always held the office of surveyor general for the Western Shore, a sinecure. John Kilty, *The Land-Holder's Assistant and Land Office Guide* (Baltimore, 1808), 271.

<sup>c</sup> Ten pounds was estimated as normal for the settled counties, £50 to £150 for the counties where new land was being granted.

<sup>d</sup> This estimate is made from figures in an important document, dated 1767, written in Governor Sharpe's own hand, and headed, "An exact Estimate of the Annual Charge of maintaining and supporting the entire Establishment of the Province of Maryland distinguishing the different Funds and the different Services to which those Funds are appropriated . . ." (MS. in Portfolio no. 3, Maryland Historical Society). The "exact estimate" is evidently the original draft or a copy of the report on the Maryland establishment ordered by Lord Shelburne in 1766, sent in May, 1767, and cited by Professor Bond from Public Record Office materials as CO 5: 112. f 155. See Bond, *The Quit-Rent System*, 215 n, and letters, Shelburne to Sharpe, December 11, 1766, and Sharpe to Shelburne, May 14, 1767, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 361, 387-88). According to this statement, the governor's income consisted of the twelve pence per hogshead tobacco duty, which normally yielded £1291 9 s. 0 d., of a three pence per ton duty on all vessels not owned in Maryland, which normally yielded £228 15 s. 9 d., and of the customary revenues from a twelve shilling fee for marriage licenses, which normally yielded £341 4 s. 0 d. Two points should be noted: first, the governor's three pence tonnage duty was apart from the fourteen pence tonnage duty, which was assigned to the lord proprietor, and was not even entered in the agent's accounts; and, second, the estimate of £1861 as the governor's income, from the three sources specified above, represents his income as governor only, and does not include his fees as chancellor and surveyor general.

According to the agents' accounts, the following sums were paid the governor from the hogshead duty alone for the years indicated: £1000, for 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1759; £1002 7 s. 9¾ d., for 1760; £1139 14 s. 6½ d., for 1756; £1371 0 s. 7¼ d., for 1773; £1427 15 s. 5½ d., for 1758; £1978 10 s. 10½ d. for thirteen months in 1771 and 1772; and £2117 7s. 8¾ d., for 1761 (Calvert Papers, MSS. in Maryland Historical Society).

<sup>e</sup> The agent's accounts show that his salary was £100 in 1733, £150 from 1748 to 1761, and £500 from 1769 to 1774. He also received a five per cent commission on manor rents and alienation fines.

<sup>f</sup> These estimates are made from the only available figures, those for the years 1767, 1768, and 1769.

<sup>g</sup> The rent-roll keepers' commissions varied in exact proportion to the quitrents, but £175 is representative.

<sup>23</sup> The proprietary element controlled appointments to all the offices given in the table

of 1761, made by Governor Sharpe for the British board of trade, must be regarded as much too low. As Sharpe was reporting to officials of the crown and as a comparison of the expenses of the Maryland system with those of the royal colonies was implied, he may have felt constrained to understate. In any case, he estimated his own income a third lower than he was to report in 1767, when he had to itemize the sources;<sup>24</sup> and his report of the incomes of the deputy secretary, commissary general, and the judges of the land office indicated less than a third of what they actually received during the far from prosperous years from 1763 to 1769. Other figures in the table suggest, however, that Sharpe reported fairly enough the incomes of the minor offices. Probably, therefore, the nearest approximation of the total annual income from the offices in the gift of the proprietary element is to be made by substituting in the 1761 column the later estimates of the incomes of the great offices, by filling in the blank spaces in that column from the figures in any of the other columns, by multiplying the estimated representative incomes from the county offices by fourteen, the number of counties, and by adding. Such a calculation makes it appear that proprietary patronage towards the close of the provincial period was worth from twelve to fourteen thousand pounds sterling annually. This was an amount roughly equal to the private income of the lord proprietor from all his rights and privileges, and was a generous allowance for the support, under colonial conditions, of about twenty important and eighty-five minor officials.<sup>25</sup>

That the patronage was actually and complacently regarded and utilized as a property right is well-illustrated by a letter from Secretary Cecilius Calvert to Governor Sharpe, in which he said, "The Duke of

save one, the clerkship of the lower house. In addition to the offices listed it also controlled appointment to the provincial council, the judgeships, and the lesser places in the land system, none of which were very remunerative. Appointments to the council usually went to the great officials and the naval officers, and they gave prestige and title but only a few pounds a year income, from allowances.

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 221, n. 22.

<sup>25</sup> In another place the point will be discussed, with the evidence, that the great officials were often, although not always, the largest landholders in Maryland, by virtue of the proprietor's favor.

Newcastle is run hard in the political warehouse in Britain, and in miniature I with Maryland," and then went on to urge Sharpe to correspond with him privately about patronage and to burn the letters received.<sup>26</sup> Calvert's view of governmental office as a property right, so representative of his own day and place, also prevailed in the province itself. To a satirist in the *Maryland Gazette* "a place" was to be defined as "the true cause of all our disputes. And, what would more effectually stop the mouths, and lull to rest our blustering patriots,

... than poppy of mandragora

Or all the drowsy syrups of the East."<sup>27</sup>

To an officeholder a place was not uncommonly a privilege to be passed on to his son,<sup>28</sup> and was always something to be exploited to the full.

It is very consistent with such usages and conceptions that, at the time when Frederick, Lord Baltimore, and his *alter ego*, Secretary Calvert, were making many and various provisions for the fullest realization of the proprietary revenues, they should also have been especially active in using the patronage for what it would buy, politically, for themselves and what it would give, financially, to their favorites. Shortly after his appointment Calvert wrote to Deputy Secretary Jennings, making elaborate inquiries about the provincial offices and their value; and, eight years later, having meanwhile exerted a great deal of influence in the naming of officials, he placed his interest on a new plane, writing a long letter to Sharpe under the euphemistic title of a "General Review of the Constitution and Government of Maryland and of Proper Regulations to prevent Turbulent and Malevolent Spirits . . .; and so Knit and Unite the several Branches of Power there, as to form one Grand and Regular Movement, all tending to the Honour and Prosperity of his Lordship and the Happiness and welfare of the whole Province." In this letter the secretary proposed a wholesale scheme for bribing the members of the lower house into conformity with his lord-

<sup>26</sup> Calvert to Sharpe, December 12, 1754, *Archives of Maryland*, XXXI, 472.

<sup>27</sup> "Lexiphanes," in the *Maryland Gazette*, July 22, 1773.

<sup>28</sup> Calvert to Benjamin Tasker, November 27, 1756, and Daniel Dulany to Calvert, September 10, 1764, *Calvert Papers*, II, 187, 247-48.



ship's policy by the offer of county offices, a scheme which Sharpe rejected as impractical.<sup>29</sup> But although bribery of this sort appears not to have been practised on so great a scale, it did sometimes occur, as Sharpe himself admitted.<sup>30</sup> The lords proprietor had always exercised the right to name the great officials, the governor, the secretary, the agent, the commissary general, and the judges of the land office, but Frederick, Lord Baltimore, in contravention of the usage which gave the appointing power to the governor, often named the naval officers and sheriffs as well. This practice annoyed the governor to a degree, for he felt that too close a dependence of the lesser officials in Maryland on Secretary Calvert in England tended to diminish respect for his own authority and to damage the efficacy of the government.<sup>31</sup> Many rivalries and jealousies among officeholders show that Sharpe was right, and that the capricious use of patronage by Lord Baltimore proved a sort of boomerang, a potent instrument of favoritism, but one which reacted with demoralizing effect on the solidarity of the provincial administration.

Conditions were much the same in the established church as in the government. Here the "livings" at stake were derived from a permanent act of 1702, which established the Church of England in Maryland and provided for its support an annual poll tax of forty pounds of tobacco,<sup>32</sup> the income from each parish to be assigned to the clergyman thereof. The lord proprietor's material interest in the matter arose from

<sup>29</sup> Calvert to Sharpe, March 17, 1760, *Archives of Maryland*, IX, 375-87. See also Calvert to Jennings, July 8, 1752, *Calvert Papers*, II, 165, and Sharpe to Calvert, July 7, 1760, *Archives of Maryland*, IX, 423-25.

<sup>30</sup> Sharpe to Calvert, March 8, 1756, *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 356.

<sup>31</sup> The confusion about the appointment of naval officers appears in Sharpe's earliest instructions. On March 17, 1753, he was ordered to appoint four specified persons, but on March 30 further additional instructions, apparently repeating a phrase from old instructions, ordered him to appoint (according to his own judgment) "fit" persons to be naval officers (*Calvert Papers*, MS. no. 1147, and Portfolio no. 2, in *Maryland Historical Society*). For evidence about minor appointments ordered from London and the difficulties and embarrassments arising therefrom, see letters in *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 273; IX, 352, 453; XIV, 321-22, 347, 551.

<sup>32</sup> The tobacco inspection act of 1747 and the similar acts which succeeded it temporarily reduced the tax to thirty pounds per poll.

the right, granted him in the charter without limitation, to present all clergymen to their benefices. As the population of the province grew and the number of parishes increased, this right took on greater and greater value. In 1724, when the establishment was about a generation old, there were approximately twenty-five parishes in Maryland, and they were of moderate value. Probably no rector received more than £200 sterling worth of tobacco annually, and more parishes yielded less than £100 than yielded more. By 1767, however, the number of parishes had increased to forty-three, and the value of the benefices had increased greatly. In that year three parishes yielded more than £300; seventeen, more than £200; and fourteen, between £150 and £200; and by 1773 clergy incomes, especially those in the higher brackets, had still further increased.<sup>33</sup> Because during the interval between 1724 and 1767 the population of the province had increased about threefold, or nearly twice as rapidly as the number of parishes, and because the total clergy income from the poll tax varied in exact ratio with the population, the clergymen, generally speaking, found themselves in the happy position of enjoying steadily rising incomes. By the same token, the lord proprietor enjoyed the disposal of more and more ecclesiastical patronage. In 1766 the total value of this patronage came to 1,920,930 pounds of tobacco, which Governor Sharpe valued at £8163 9 s. 0 d., or an average of nearly £200 for each clergyman.<sup>34</sup> Such generous provision made Maryland clerical livings the most desired in America, and the fortunate holders congratulated themselves on their blessings.<sup>35</sup>

A material body, the established church was all too subject to corruption.<sup>36</sup> In a notorious case, Lord Baltimore awarded the best benefice

<sup>33</sup> William Stevens Perry (ed.), *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, 1878), IV, 128-29, 190-231, 336-37, 343-44.

<sup>34</sup> "An exact estimate," 1767, MS. in Portfolio no. 3, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>35</sup> Jonathan Boucher to the Rev. Mr. James, March 9, 1767, *Maryland Historical Magazine* (1912), VII, 239-40, and the address of twenty-one clergymen to Governor Sir Robert Eden, October 5, 1771, a document in "Letters, I," in the Maryland Diocesan Library, Baltimore.

<sup>36</sup> For a general statement, see Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province*, 450-59.

in the province, All Saints' Parish, in Frederick County, to Bennet Allen, a friend whose career was already the most scandalous of the century in Maryland. In a similar case, Governor Sharpe encountered the resentment of the churchmen at Lord Baltimore's appointments in its most convincing form. Here, from an Eastern Shore parish which had suffered from a succession of immoral rectors, the governor met first petitions and then riots before he could finally settle his nominee in the benefice.<sup>37</sup> The churchmen argued with so much intellectual ammunition about the inherent right of a parish to choose its own minister, and they did so with such zeal that the episode can be described only as a miniature reformation movement in Maryland. Unhappy appointments to the churches were so frequent that, while in a period of materialism in the Church of England generally it will not do to attribute all the faults of the church in Maryland to local conditions, the proprietor's willingness and desire to favor his friends with the gift of benefices must bear much of the responsibility for corruption and demoralization.

In coming to conclusions about the property rights contained within the provincial system of Maryland, two comparisons which throw some light on the meaning of those rights are possible from available materials. The annual costs of the vested interests may be compared, first, with the other costs of the provincial establishment, especially with the parish and county charges, which present the nearest equivalent to modern state expenditures for the public welfare. And they may be compared, second, with what indexes exist of the economic productiveness of the province as a whole.<sup>38</sup> The questions at issue are: How

<sup>37</sup> There are many materials on this affair, but for a review of the preliminaries, see Vestry of Coventry Parish to Sharpe, 1767, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 363-69.

<sup>38</sup> There is a temptation to offer a third comparison, and with it the conclusion that *Maryland supported a more expensive establishment than that of any of the other British colonies*, great or small, in North America and the West Indies. Such a conclusion would at first glance seem justified by a report of the board of trade in 1766. The report gives the annual expenses of fourteen colonies, but lacks figures for Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. It shows only two establishments costing more than £10,000 annually, and they are Massachusetts, at £18,000, and Jamaica, at £30,500 exclusive of

much of the money collected from the people under the establishment went to the satisfaction of vested rights, and how much was returned in the form of genuine service by the government? What was the real or economic cost, as distinguished from the money cost, of the establishment?

Referring to the year 1766 as representative, Governor Sharpe said that the ordinary county and parochial charges—the allowances for the justices of the peace, the constables, and the jurors, and the payments for maintenance and physicians' charges for the poor, and for repairs to churches, roads, bridges, and the like—came to tobacco worth £14,695 2 s. 4 d.,<sup>39</sup> which was paid by an annual poll tax levied by the justices of the peace for each county. In the same year three special duties, the only revenues that the province supplied for the support of education in any form, yielded a total of £419 8 s. 0 d.,<sup>40</sup> which was divided between King William's school in Annapolis and the few county schools there were. A fourth special duty yielded £819 3 s. 0 d. to a reserve maintained as a source from which compensatory payments could be made to the masters of slaves executed under the law. The judges of the provincial court and members of the two houses of assembly were not paid annually, but Governor Sharpe estimated that, on an average, the allowances they were granted cost the province,

parish charges. If it could be assumed that these figures were complete, comparison with Governor Sharpe's estimate of the "annual sum paid by inhabitants of Maryland in taxes, duties, and quit-rents" at £37,431 15 s. 10 d. would suggest the conclusion above. Several of the board of trade's figures, however, are taken from reports as old as 1731 and 1740, and it is impossible to know just what was included in any of the figures. Perhaps it was the deficiency of information which led Lord Shelburne to require a statement in 1766, and to Sharpe's "exact estimate" of 1767. See above, p. 221, n. 22. The report is: Board of Trade to the House of Lords, February 2, 1766, transcript in the Library of Congress of a document in the House of Lords Library, identified in C. M. Andrews and F. G. Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge* (Washington, 1907), p. 236, item 228.

<sup>39</sup> This and other figures not credited to different sources are taken from the "exact estimate," by Governor Sharpe, 1767, MS. in Portfolio no. 3, Maryland Historical Society.

<sup>40</sup> On the schools, see Basil Sollers, "Education in the Colony," in Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894), 24-38.

respectively, £637 10 s. 0 d. and £1750 4 s. 3 d. each year.<sup>41</sup> The entire cost to Maryland of all these items, which comprised all the public money used for parish charges, county charges, and the charges for maintaining the provincial court and the legislature, was £18,321 7 s. 7 d., mostly paid in tobacco.

Governor Sharpe's own figures invite a preliminary comparison. His grand total of "the annual charge of maintaining and supporting the entire establishment of the province of Maryland" was £37,431 15 s. 10 d. The difference between that sum and £18,321 7 s. 7 d., or £19,109 18 s. 3 d., he assigned as follows:<sup>42</sup> £9084 10 s. 6 d., the income from quitrents and the tonnage duty, to the lord proprietor's private account; £8163 19 s. 0 d., the proceeds of the tobacco poll tax, to the clergymen of the Church of England; and £1861 8 s. 9 d., from various sources, to the governor. According to Governor Sharpe's own statement, then, three privileged elements in the provincial system, the lord proprietor, the governor, and the forty-odd clergymen of the established church, cost the people of Maryland more, by about four and one-third per cent, than all the public services and the maintenance of the judicial and legislative branches of the government combined.

But the present study has shown that Governor Sharpe's categories and figures were not inclusive. Called upon to account merely for the funds collected and disbursed through the government and for quitrents,<sup>43</sup> he omitted any statement of the cost of administration and of

<sup>41</sup> Neither the legislators nor the judges profited from their positions. Members of the lower house and judges of the provincial court received allowances of 140 pounds of tobacco for each day in session, and members of the upper house, 150 pounds. The estimated totals in the text include payments to clerks and "ministerial officers" as well as the allowances.

<sup>42</sup> Governor Sharpe's figures are given in detail below ("An exact estimate," 1767, MS. in Portfolio no. 3, Maryland Historical Society):

The 14 d. per ton duty, to the proprietor	£1100 0 s. 0 d.
Quitrents, to the proprietor	£7984 10 s. 6 d.
The 12 d. per hhd. duty, to the governor	£1291 9 s. 0 d.
The 3 d. per ton duty, to the governor	£ 228 15 s. 9 d.
Marriage licenses, to the governor	£ 341 4 s. 0 d.
The clergy tax	£8163 19 s. 0 d.

<sup>43</sup> Shelburne to Sharpe, December 11, 1766, *Archives of Maryland*, XIV, 361.

official prestige, represented by the incomes of officials of the executive branch of the government and of the land system. Likewise, he gave no account of the lord proprietor's income from the land office, from manor rents, and from the minor sources; and his statement that the proprietor's income from the tonnage duty was £1100, although doubtless accurate for 1766, indicated less than the usual truth. If all these factors be considered according to the estimates in the present study, the total cost of the Maryland system, as of the final decade of its history, may be raised more than twenty-five per cent above the estimate of Governor Sharpe, to about £51,000. In round numbers, this total was distributed as follows: To the use of the people of Maryland, in the form of county and parish charges, the support of the schools, and the local government, £16,000; to the legislative and judicial branches of the provincial government, for essential services, £2500; to the lord proprietor, for personal use, £12,500; to the patronage of officers, for the administration of the province, chiefly the land and revenue systems, £12,000; to the clergy of the Church of England, for administering the established religion, £8000. The first two items represent little if any vested right in the form of patronage, and may be considered as paying for several of the essentials of government and nothing else. The other items, comprising hardly less than two-thirds of the total, represent incomes entirely within the control of the proprietary element. These incomes paid about one hundred fifty men for administration, civil and ecclesiastical, and for the satisfaction of the privileges of the lord proprietor under the royal charter. As more than half of all the income controlled by the proprietary element was concentrated in the hands of the lord proprietor and a half dozen high officials, the preponderance of privilege is evident.

In considering the entire cost of the provincial system, the writer's estimate of the value of the export trade, as ranging from some £175,000 to £225,000 annually,<sup>44</sup> is not as useful an index as in relation to the lord proprietor's revenues alone. The latter represent an absolute

<sup>44</sup> See above, p. 218, n. 13.

loss to the province, an exportation of capital for which there was no corresponding import, while the other costs of the establishment represent credits transferred in Maryland. But in view of the fact that officers' fees and clergy taxes were nearly always paid in tobacco, that is, in the transferable surplus of the payer, which was also the staple export product of the province, reference to the export trade has definite significance. Since the officials and clergymen, who received the tobacco, were usually landowners and therefore not likely to exchange the tobacco for local commodities, such as foodstuffs, it may be assumed that much of their tobacco was exported directly or through a merchant to the British tobacco market. Ultimately, therefore, the officials and clergymen were paid in the form of credit to purchase the goods of the mother country. It is probably almost as accurate to say that the £20,000 annually received by the patronage officials and clergymen was equal to a nine to eleven per cent levy on the purchasing power in England of the rest of the inhabitants of Maryland, as to say that Lord Baltimore's income equalled a six or seven per cent levy.

This line of reasoning involves too many uncertainties to be followed with precision, but the suggestions it carries are inescapable. The property rights of the proprietary element involved a transfer of purchasing power from the people of the province to an inner circle of the government. That transfer in the long run was realized by the purchase of manufactures and luxuries from the mother country.<sup>45</sup> Under existing provincial conditions, which made the possession of imported goods—such as household equipment, farm and domestic implements, and the higher grades of textiles—the badge of a high standard of living and social prestige, the benefit of membership in the proprietary element was very great.

A plainer case of the cultivation of financial and social privileges through the machinery of government than that of provincial Mary-

<sup>45</sup> Lest the presentation seem too abstract, reference is made to the high living traditional in Annapolis and on the great plantations, most of which belonged in families at some time influential in the proprietary element, and to the contrasting squalor of the small plantations.

land is difficult to conceive. Without desire to revive the old connotation of British tyranny in America, the observation may be offered that in Maryland the consistent application of British conceptions of land tenure, of office holding, and of privilege, created a relationship between the governing and the governed for which the tyranny of institutions is a just description.



# Documents

## BEHIND THE SCENES IN THE RECONSTRUCTION LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA: DIARY OF JOSEPHUS WOODRUFF

*Edited by* R. H. WOODY

This concludes the extant portion of the diary of Josephus Woodruff, clerk of the Senate of South Carolina from 1868 to 1877. It begins with the entry of August 9, 1875, and continues with almost daily entries until December 31, 1875. The first installment, covering the period of July 21, 1874-October 21, 1874, which appeared in the February issue of the *Journal*, depicted a much harassed Woodruff who regretted the situation into which he had been put by his Republican politician-friends and who was much puzzled as to the course to follow in order to save his clerkship and his interest in the Republican Printing Company. His most immediate worry was the collection of a large sum owed his company for state printing—and the chief obstacle in his way, according to Woodruff, was State Treasurer Francis L. Cardozo, who either alleged that there was no money in the treasury to pay such claims or took refuge behind legal quibbles. Hence the references to the “mandamus case,” which if won by the Republican Printing Company and others, would require the treasurer to pay certain claims against the state, and hence the uncomplimentary reflections upon Cardozo and all who were considered his political allies, especially Governor Daniel H. Chamberlain and James G. Thompson, editor of the *Union-Herald*, a Republican newspaper largely owned by Chamberlain and Cardozo.

Woodruff's position as clerk of the Senate and the urgency of retaining that position in order to keep his control of the state printing naturally made for a keen interest in politics. The diary contains frequent suggestions that Woodruff was by no means sure of his Senatorial

friends, upon whom he was dependent for re-election, although he spent much time and money doing favors for them. As a native of the state and as a former reporter for Democratic newspapers before Reconstruction, he seems to have suffered occasional pangs of remorse for his affiliation with the enemies of the old régime. He even expressed a wish for the political success of the Democrats. But his support of Chamberlain in the campaign of 1874 indicates that he was so involved with the Republican machine that his personal interests left no choice.

This concluding portion of the diary reveals that Woodruff's financial troubles were still uppermost, but the interconnection of finances and politics in the state at that time made Woodruff as concerned with the one as the other. The diarist impresses one as a well-intentioned but vacillating person without the strength of character necessary to break the grip of circumstances; his blunt and sometimes inconsistent characterizations of individuals do not mark the mind distinguished for judicial calm; nevertheless, this picture of the times, as sketched by one who was in the midst of the scene and who pretended no philosophical detachment, is essentially accurate.

Had a convesation with Governor Magrath.<sup>1</sup> Wanted to get assistance with an omnibus bill taking care of the floating debt, bills of the Bank of the State<sup>2</sup> and revenue bond scrip<sup>3</sup> Promised to get him a copy of the tax act

<sup>1</sup> A. G. Magrath, former governor. See "Behind the Scenes in the Reconstruction Legislature of South Carolina: Diary of Josephus Woodruff," in *Journal of Southern History*, II (February, 1936), p. 87, n. 75. Hereafter cited as "Diary of Josephus Woodruff."

<sup>2</sup> In 1868 the legislature passed an act to close the operations of the Bank of the State, chartered in 1812, and provided for the funding of all bills of the bank issued prior to December 20, 1860, in state bonds. Speculators and some of the state officials assumed an interest in these transactions which led to subsequent litigation.

<sup>3</sup> By the Revenue Bond Scrip Act of 1872 the legislature withdrew the state's endorsement of bonds of the Blue Ridge Railroad Company to the amount of \$4,000,000. In exchange for such bonds the state treasurer was to issue treasury certificates of indebtedness to the amount of \$1,800,000. The certificates, known as "revenue bond scrip," were to be receivable in payment of taxes and all other dues to the state, the state might pay out scrip in satisfaction of claims against it, and an annual tax was levied to retire the scrip. This legislation was accompanied by the most shameless bribery; under it a great deal of scrip was issued, although it was worth very little on the market. After injunction and mandamus proceedings to prevent or compel the receipt and payment of the scrip, the state Supreme Court held the act unconstitutional and destroyed the value of the scrip. But there were repeated efforts to have the state redeem the scrip.

Monday Aug 9 1875 The papers are again full of Parker's escape.<sup>4</sup> It is also announced that the Governor<sup>5</sup> has returned. Heard rumors that Parker had been recaptured by the Sheriff of Kershaw County

Tuesday Aug. 10 1875 Mr Kirk, called and we called on Ex Govr Moses<sup>6</sup> Asked him to sound the Chief Justice<sup>7</sup> on the case of the Republican Printing Company<sup>8</sup> He [former Governor Moses] promised to do so and to let me know the result tomorrow. Said he learned that Jim Thompson,<sup>9</sup> according to Cardozo's<sup>10</sup> statement was endeavoring to outlive the Phoenix,<sup>11</sup> which was in a critical condition, and that Jim [Thompson] desired the Union Herald<sup>12</sup> should at least survive the Phoenix one week. He spoke of running for membership of the House from Sumter next year again and be again a candidate for the Speakership

Thursday August 12 1875 Arrived in Columbia this morning. Elliott<sup>13</sup> informed us that there was not much prospect of the Governor signing the tax act. That destroys all hopes of keeping up our work. Let Judge Carpenter<sup>14</sup> and Jim Thompson proceed. In conversation with Mr. Cavender<sup>15</sup> I agreed that if Jones<sup>16</sup> consented he should have \$1000 to write out a defence of the R. [epublican] P. [rinting] Co and help us in the case Would have no objection to an immediate trial. Nothing can be gained by truckling to such men

Friday August 13 1875 Nash<sup>17</sup> called this morning and we had a long conversation. He does not appear so hard against me as against Cardozo. Told him I was willing the Smalls matter should be thoroughly ventilated<sup>18</sup> Saw Nea-

<sup>4</sup> In 1875 former State Treasurer Niles G. Parker was convicted of malfeasance in office, escaped from jail, was captured, and then released on an illegal writ of habeas corpus.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel H. Chamberlain. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 80, n. 14.

<sup>6</sup> F. J. Moses, Jr. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 79, n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> F. J. Moses, Sr. See *ibid.*, p. 82, n. 39.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 79, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 83, n. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Francis L. Cardozo. See *ibid.*, p. 80, n. 12.

<sup>11</sup> The Columbia *Daily Phoenix*, a Democratic paper founded by Julian A. Selby, March 21, 1865.

<sup>12</sup> See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 31.

<sup>13</sup> R. B. Elliott, speaker of the House. See *ibid.*, n. 27.

<sup>14</sup> R. B. Carpenter. See *ibid.*, n. 29.

<sup>15</sup> T. S. Cavender. See *ibid.*, p. 80, n. 17.

<sup>16</sup> A. O. Jones, clerk of the House. See *ibid.*, p. 79, n. 7.

<sup>17</sup> Beverly Nash. See *ibid.*, p. 82, n. 36.

<sup>18</sup> Probably refers to the alleged bribery of State Senator Robert Smalls by Woodruff. In 1877 Smalls was convicted of having accepted \$5000 from Woodruff to vote for a printing bill. He was pardoned by Governor W. D. Simpson, 1879. On Smalls see *ibid.*, p. 91, n. 91.

gle<sup>19</sup> and discovered what he meant by saying there were still some unsettled differences between us. Told him that last \$10000 he took from us was taken as a complete settlement.<sup>20</sup> He thought he could get Chamberlain to sign the tax act, but wanted something to go upon. Did not agree. Left for Charleston this evening.

Saturday August 14. 1875 Called on Governor Magrath this morning with some books, Supreme Court descisions &c. The Governor spoke as kindly as ever. I spoke rather hard of Chamberlain and told the Governor how I had refused as Secretary of the nominating Convention to falsify the roll call for \$5000 offered<sup>21</sup> and which would have nominated Green. Gave the Governor [Magrath] a clear insight into the operations of the Printing Company He thought the legislature responsible and that I could safely demur to the jurisdiction of a court. Gave the Governor a copy of the tax act. Received a dispatch from my son stating that he had suspended business. Did intend to try and see Cardozo but could not bring myself to go on another visit to his Island Home.<sup>22</sup>

Sunday Aug 15 1875 Interviewed Jones and he agreed to employ Cavender to write our defence and assist Elliott in our case<sup>23</sup> Will write to Cavender at once Am willing now that the trial should proceed. Don't propose to let Chamberlain beat us out of everything. Will see Judge Carpenter and try to make terms with him But perhaps he does not want it. Think I will try a demurrer at last.

Monday Aug 16 1875 Had an interview with Mr J. B. Campbell<sup>24</sup> who said he had heard that proceedings would go on against us. Am anxious to see termination of Parkers case. An adverse verdict in my case would be followed by an appeal to the Supreme Court. Lt Govr Gleaves<sup>25</sup> arived and requested me

<sup>19</sup> J. L. Neagle. See *ibid.*, p. 81, n. 26.

<sup>20</sup> Woodruff and Jones had purchased Neagle's share in the Republican Printing Company.

<sup>21</sup> See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, 93, entry of September 12, 1874.

<sup>22</sup> Sullivan's Island, near Charleston.

<sup>23</sup> In June, 1875, "private parties" (evidently James G. Thompson, editor of the Columbia *Union-Herald*), through a Columbia attorney, filed a complaint for injunction and relief against Woodruff, Jones, and the Republican Printing Company. The complaint alleged that the two clerks, Woodruff of the Senate and Jones of the House, had, under authority of the legislature, let contracts to themselves as owners of the Republican Printing Company. This convenient arrangement had led to enormous overcharges to the state for printing. It was the intention of the suit to secure an injunction against the payment of a \$90,000 claim held against the state by the printing company, and also to secure judgment for damages to the amount of \$500,000. An attempt was made to have the state, through Attorney General S. W. Melton, made a party to the proceedings against Woodruff and Jones.

<sup>24</sup> See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 22.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88, n. 79.

to draft reply to a letter in the News<sup>26</sup> relative to his action in commuting death sentence [of] Gibbes.<sup>27</sup> Did so and the Governor [Gleaves] after some slight alterations took it and said he would have it published. That will put Chamberlain on his mettle again.<sup>28</sup>

Tuesday August 17 1875 Learned from Govr Gleaves that Riordan <sup>29</sup> promised to publish his reply. Jones and self agreed to go to Columbia tonight. We expect to meet Thompson. Am perfectly willing the case should go ahead. Elliotts course as Parkers Counsel was rather singular. Left for Columbia and met Jones & Gleaves at the depot.

Wednesday Aug 18 1875 Arrived in Columbia. The Register<sup>30</sup> has a severe article sent by Judge Thomas.<sup>31</sup> Visited Cardozo who paid us \$500 on account of printing to distribute amongst the hands Promised to pay us more on the first of September. Met the Governor who informed us that he intended to veto the tax bill and his principal ground of objection was the  $\frac{3}{4}$  mill levied for printing; that the printing had already cost the state too much. He neglected to state how much of it he had demanded and received as blackmail fees.<sup>32</sup>

Thursday August 19 1875 Crews<sup>33</sup> said he had no doubt but that the Governor would sign the tax act. Solomon's<sup>34</sup> was also cheerful about it. But I think Chamberlain will get everything he can and then deceive them.

<sup>26</sup> Charleston *News and Courier*.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph Gibbes, Charleston County, convicted of murder and sentenced to be hung.

<sup>28</sup> Governor Chamberlain and Lieutenant Governor Gleaves were not friendly, partly because Gleaves had taken advantage of the governor's absence to scheme against him; it was on such an occasion that Gleaves had commuted Gibbes' sentence.

<sup>29</sup> Bartholomew Riordan. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 95, n. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Columbia *Register*, a Democratic daily edited by C. P. Pelham; established July 28, 1875.

<sup>31</sup> William M. Thomas. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 79, n. 9.

<sup>32</sup> In addition to paying State Treasurer Cardozo a percentage of all payments received by the Republican Printing Company for printing, Woodruff was convinced that he was being blackmailed by the *Union-Herald*. In 1877 he testified as follows: ". . . we [Jones and Woodruff] were blackmailed for the Union-Herald for large amounts whilst that paper was under the control and ownership of Chamberlain and Cardozo. I am unable to say how much, but know it was several thousand dollars. Proceedings were instituted at the instigation of Mr. Chamberlain against the company by Mr. J. G. Thompson, for the purpose, as Mr. Cardozo told me . . . of blackmail and to force the company to support the Union-Herald. Mr. Cardozo said such was the object of the attack, and if we did not see Jim Thompson, Jim would go for us. We did not see him, and he went for us with the most savage brutality."

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Crews of Laurens, member of the Constitutional Convention, 1868; member of the legislature; fatally wounded from ambush, September, 1875.

<sup>34</sup> Probably a reference to Hardy Solomon's South Carolina Bank and Trust Company

Saturday August 21 1875 Received letter from Hardy Solomon proposing to assist the printers by letting them have groceries, on our giving a mortgage on our presses, machinery &c Did not answer it.

Tuesday August 24 1875 The News this morning contained an account of Moroso's<sup>35</sup> interview with Chamberlain Can see from that he does not intend to sign the tax act, all the suppositions of Crews & others to the contrary notwithstanding Dr Neagle called and made proposals relative to tax act which were agreeable provided we could. see them carried out. Promised to see him again after consultation with Jones

Wednesday August 25 1875 Think I shall change tactics and try to make up with Chamberlain. Think after all he is the best man to work with. We may get even; then dissolve and get out of the way of the Sirocco. Shall not trouble myself about newspapers

Thursday August 26 1875 Thompson called relative to stationery contracts. Had a long and satisfactory interview Told Thompson I was ready always for business and willing to give him a show; that I would be a candidate for reelection as Clerk of the Senate and he might help me. Admitted that rotation in office was good doctrine for the outs but not for the ins

Sunday August 29 1875 The New York Sun has a severe editorial on Chamberlain. I don't suppose Chamberlain cares. He has fooled Joe Crews & Neagle & will not sign the tax act.

Monday August 30 1875 Left for Columbia and arrived there quarter to one o'clock. Had a lengthy interview with Northrop,<sup>36</sup> Jim Thompson's counsel, and proposed that he should place all the papers against Woodruff & Jones in my hands on our payment of the \$500 fee promised him by Chamberlain to take the case for Jim Thompson. Said Chamberlain had not paid him anything. The whole matter he regarded as a farce.

Tuesday August 31 1875 Enclosed writ of election for vacancy in Horry County, to Govr Gleaves for signature. Saw Govr Chamberlain at his law office and proposed to settle a bill sent his firm for collection, against my son, with orders on the printing appropriations. Said he would let me know tomorrow. Cavender informed me that Jake Runkle<sup>37</sup> and Northrop were both engaged in

which failed on July 2, 1875, at a time when it owed the state over \$200,000. T. C. Dunn, state comptroller general, was appointed receiver.

<sup>35</sup> See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 84, n. 53.

<sup>36</sup> L. C. Northrop, Charleston lawyer and editor, who became connected with the Columbia *Union-Herald* in 1873. James G. Thompson succeeded him as editor of the *Union-Herald*, but he continued to practice law in Columbia.

<sup>37</sup> J. H. Runkle, Columbia lawyer.

the case against Woodruff & Jones. Told him I was willing they should all be in it and make whatever they could out of it as we had failed to keep off the pirates.

Thursday Sept 2 1875 Agreed to give Cavender \$1,500 of Company certificates for bonanza case<sup>38</sup> before the Supreme Court.

Friday Sept 3 1875 Received a letter from Cavender relative to his interview with Jim Thompson, who it seems was altogether disposed to withdraw the papers in the suit against the R. [epublican] P. [rinting] Co. Jones thought Thompson ashamed of himself. Thats good joke on Schneider<sup>39</sup> I did not think Jones so green. Got a Gibson certificate from Jones and sent it to Cavender, amounting to \$1483. Carpenter<sup>40</sup> is not the worst man after all. I have his due bill for \$1000.

Wednesday Sept 8 1875 Arrived in Columbia this morning. Met Judge Cooke<sup>41</sup> on the train. He thought Chamberlain had not gained much popularity. Thompson has them all frightened. Saw Owens<sup>42</sup> but got nothing definite from him. Heard of the attack on Crews at Laurens and Owens said he would have to go slow. He regarded the Crews affair as alarming. Heard the names of Cavender, Gulick<sup>43</sup> and Hardy Solomons mentioned as probable candidates for Treasurer. Asked Owens whether he spoke to the Governor on the tax bill. Said he did not but merely conversed on County affairs. Crews was shot it is said just outside of Laurens. Owens took extra train to see him.

Thursday Sept 9 1875 Interviewed Cardozo again today but could do nothing with him. Offered to loan him some, if he would raise me some money. Would like to know what the Union League did with Cardozo today. Think he will be dismissed, from all I can hear.<sup>44</sup> Heard that Crews was not dangerously wounded and trust he will get over it. Had a little talk with the Governor, who wanted Leslie<sup>45</sup> to be easy with him. Said his relations with Leslie at times had been of the most confidential nature.

Friday Sept 10 1875 Received letter from Leslie and answered it with a general review of the situation. Had a long interview with Governor Magrath. He

<sup>38</sup> See below, n. 60.

<sup>39</sup> Possibly F. A. Schneider.

<sup>40</sup> Probably Judge R. B. Carpenter; possibly Lewis Cass Carpenter. On these two see "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 29; p. 87, n. 71.

<sup>41</sup> Judge T. H. Cooke. See *ibid.*, p. 83, n. 43.

<sup>42</sup> Y. J. P. Owens, senator from Laurens County.

<sup>43</sup> W. B. Gulick, cashier of the Central National Bank, Columbia.

<sup>44</sup> In 1870, and perhaps later, Cardozo was president of the Union League of South Carolina, a secret political organization designed especially to appeal to the Negro.

<sup>45</sup> C. P. Leslie. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 86, n. 63.

thinks Chamberlain is not going to hurt anybody. I should like to work and agree with Chamberlain if I knew how to hold him, but perhaps the best thing is to let him alone.

Sunday Sept 12 1875 Judge Thomas called. I told him I thought the News would carry the day. I would like to see Genl Wagener<sup>46</sup> elected, but the News is opposed to him. They are somewhat afraid of the Germans, but the Germans have an indefinable dread of the News Rumored that Crews is dying. Wonder what Owens will do.

Tuesday Sept 14 1875 Received copy of summons for money demand for note of F J Moses & endorsed by me. Its the last note I will ever endorse. Received dispatch from Senator Owens announcing death of Crews.

Thursday Sept 16 1875 Arrived in Columbia. Caught a glimpse of the Governor and talked with Judge Melton.<sup>47</sup> Asked him what he proposed to do with the case of the R. P. Co. Thought to make up a case in Equity between the State and the Republican Printing Company. No matter what the Atty Genl does, we shall ask an investigation by the General Assembly and if Chamberlain, Cardozo *et al* can stand it we can

Friday Sept 17 1875 The Union Herald contained some spicy correspondence between Dunn<sup>48</sup> and Cardozo. Go it and whoever wins will have the laugh. Had an interview with Cardozo in which I put several questions to him but he evaded them. I trust Cavender, Solomon or somebody else will beat him for State Treasurer next year. Elliott wants impossible work done. Do not think much of the bonanza case. Left on train for Charleston. Dawson<sup>49</sup> and family came aboard. Told Jones I was afraid of an explosion or breakdown with so much wickedness as Dawson on the train

Saturday Sept 18 1875 Will try to agree with Cardozo and Thompson. Do not think Judge Carpenter will help me out of this difficulty by any means. If my case does come up I shall demure to the jurisdiction of the Court and if necessary appeal. My best plan is to have an investigation by the legislature. Received a dispatch stating Owens was in Columbia and decided to go up to see him

Sunday Sept 19 1875 I am thinking how we shall get Judge Carpenter on our side and what its going to cost. Must see the Judge and tell him just exactly

<sup>46</sup> John A. Wagener, a native of Germany; mayor of Charleston, 1871-1873, and a candidate for re-election in 1875. He was opposed by the *Charleston News and Courier* and defeated.

<sup>47</sup> S. W. Melton. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 85, n. 60.

<sup>48</sup> T. C. Dunn, comptroller general. See *ibid.*, p. 80, n. 18.

<sup>49</sup> Francis W. Dawson of the *Charleston News and Courier*. See *ibid.*, p. 87, n. 76.



what we can do for him. I don't like that either. If the Judge will tell me what he wants done I would like to accede to it. Its the best and only thing I can do, in my present situation.

Monday Sept 20 1875 The News comes out square against Wagener this morning. Its nothing surprising. They don't want an honest man. Met Jones and talked the matter of a case in Equity over with him. Melton said he would have a talk with Carpenter as soon as he came back. Jones agreed if we could get a decision to pay \$10,000 in orders on Cardozo and give \$10,000 more in certificates of the Company. Decided to leave for Columbia tomorrow.

Tuesday Sept 21 1875 Arrived in Columbia at 12.55 P M Saw the Governor and told him he was charged with going back on Genl Wagener in the appointment of S. Lord Jr.<sup>50</sup> He told me he made the appointment at the special request of Mr. Ficken<sup>51</sup> and others of the Conservative Committee. Saw Owens and he told me that Patterson<sup>52</sup> had gone to Charleston. Elliott said he thought if Judge Carpenter was our friend it would be well to have the case heard at Chambers. Owens says he cant help the printers Shall have to ask the printers to work on faith and trust awhile. Cant do anything more for Elliott and he will probably turn against us

Wednesday Sept 22 1875 Saw Cardozo and told him I thought he had the better of Dunn. Made proposition for loan for the R. [epublican] P. [rinting] Co. to the effect that we wanted \$10000 payable in weekly instalments by the bank, for which we offered as security an order on Cardozo for the amount and a mortgage on the machinery of the office. Cardozo told me later in the day that he had seen Mr. Childs<sup>53</sup> & Childs desired him to tell me to make my application in writing to the Board of Directors and that he (Cardozo) would put a note to it stating what the state of South Carolina owed us. Got some certificates from Owens today and gave them to Elliott amounting to \$3070 for which Elliott returned his thanks. Saw Melton today and asked him as to the prospects of the Republican Printing Company's claim. Told him I wanted to engage him and judge Carpenter as consulting legal advisers.

Thursday September 23 1875 Interviewed Judge Melton and after considerable sparring agreed to give him \$5000 as our consulting attorney. Interviewed Cardozo and wrote application to Carolina National Bank asking for a loan of \$1,500 giving as security our order on Cardozo and a mortgage on our machinery; as also the Company's note Cardozo took application to the Bank and promised to get us an early answer.

<sup>50</sup> S. Lord, Jr., of Charleston, a prominent lawyer. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Salley for this information.

<sup>51</sup> Probably L. Q. Ficken of Charleston.

<sup>52</sup> John J. Patterson. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 85, n. 58.

<sup>53</sup> Colonel L. D. Childs, president of the Carolina National Bank of Columbia.

Friday September 24 1875 Telegraphed Shrewsbury<sup>54</sup> to turn over Jones letter to me, to Cavender. Jones agreed with me in reference to Melton's proposition The News will yet make him sell out his interest in the Herald.<sup>55</sup> If I could get Chamberlains share and control of the Herald I would soon show the people the crooked workings of the News.

Saturday September 25 1875 Met Judge Melton, Dunn and Cavender in the city. Asked Cavender to write that defence for us as soon as possible.

Sunday Sept 26 1875 Went to Jones and had a conversation with him in which he spoke harshly of Cardozo. Well Cardozo does not treat anybody well. He signed the certificate as Cavender wished. Received a dispatch from Cavender and decided to answer it by putting in an appearance in Columbia

Tuesday Sept 28 1875 Arrived in Columbia at 12.55 P M Learned from Cardozo that the Bank declined to do anything until November. Had an interview with Patterson [,] the Governor, Melton, Wingate<sup>56</sup> and others. Walkers case<sup>57</sup> has excited a great deal of sympathy, but if what Yocom<sup>58</sup> says is true I don't see how the Governor is to interfere. Patton<sup>59</sup> went to Charlotte to try to get a loan for us.

Wednesday Sept 29 1875 Called on Senator Patterson and had a long interview with him. Told him he might depend on us if he could do anything for us. He seemed to be pleased with the bonanza or settlement bill, but that will not be heard until the 27th The Supreme Court has put it off long enough and its doubtful whether the Court will do anything<sup>60</sup> unless Frank Moses is allowed to redeem his property, the Preston mansion.<sup>61</sup> Patton returned from Charlotte and

<sup>54</sup> Henry L. Shrewsbury, colored representative from Chesterfield County.

<sup>55</sup> Melton and Chamberlain were part owners of the Columbia *Union-Herald*.

<sup>56</sup> John Wingate, a lawyer of Columbia.

<sup>57</sup> In September, 1875, Dublin I. Walker, former senator and school commissioner of Chester County, was convicted of having knowingly signed an illegal teacher's pay certificate. In October, Governor Chamberlain commuted his sentence from one year imprisonment in the state penitentiary to one year in the county jail.

<sup>58</sup> B. G. Yocom, former member of the legislature from Chester County, and county treasurer.

<sup>59</sup> An employee of the Republican Printing Company.

<sup>60</sup> In March, 1875, the legislature passed an act to provide for the settlement and redemption of certain claims against the state. Governor Chamberlain vetoed it, but the legislature proceeded to put its provisions into effect, on the ground that the governor had not returned the veto within the three day constitutional limit. It was this question that was before the court. The court held in *Corwin v. The Comptroller General*, that the act was valid.

<sup>61</sup> This property was purchased by F. J. Moses, Jr., while governor, reputedly for \$40,000. His extravagance involved him in financial difficulties, and he was declared bankrupt. The diary suggests the influence which Moses was supposed to have with his father who was chief justice.

said he had succeeded in getting us a loan of \$1000. Made arrangements to continue the binding; and some printing.

Thursday Sept 30, 1875 Called on Cardozo and asked him to take care of \$250 order for us Saturday for the printers. He would not promise positively. Had an interview with Judge Carpenter and talked with him in reference to my case. Am almost sorry I said anything to him. May get Melton to do the very thing I want Judge Carpenter to do, give a decision in our favor. Received loan from Tiddy<sup>62</sup> That helps us out just now.

Friday October 1 1875 Interviewed Col T. Y. Simons<sup>63</sup> and came to the conclusion that it was best by far to get the imprimatur of the Attorney General in my case. Have determined on that if I can get it. May then have it fixed so that neither the Governor, Judge Carpenter or any others will be troubled with it again. It will also stop the mouth of the press. The legislature may be abused but large bodies can stand abuse.<sup>64</sup>

Saturday October 2 1875 The Express<sup>65</sup> is sanguine of Wagener's election. I trust Cunningham<sup>66</sup> will be defeated on account of his alliance with Dawson & Riordan. The News will fling Cunningham as soon as they have no further use for him; same as they did Jones and myself. Robertson<sup>67</sup> of Beaufort called today and talked over matters; thought the Governor would help me. Do not think so. Think he would rather kill us.

Thursday October 7 1875 The papers announce the election of Cunningham as Mayor by an overwhelming majority. Read verdict of acquittal in the case of Smalls. That settles that slander

Friday October 8 1875 Left for Columbia in company with Mr Etter.<sup>68</sup> On arrival saw Thompson and made arrangements with him for delivery of stationery. Jim is anxious to get in with the State Printing. Well I shall not object. The Governor has been a great stumbling block. I want the Attorney General to take hold of our case, and suggest that he report that these papers were laid before him examined and there was no case for the state

<sup>62</sup> Probably a nickname.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas Y. Simons, prominent Charleston lawyer and Democrat, member of the National Democratic Executive Committee.

<sup>64</sup> This is practically what happened. See below, n. 112.

<sup>65</sup> The Charleston *Daily Express*, established September 6, 1875, published by J. W. Delano; it succeeded the *Daily Morning Chronicle*.

<sup>66</sup> George I. Cunningham, Mayor of Charleston.

<sup>67</sup> J. Douglass Robertson, member of the House from Beaufort. He was expelled from the House, February 25, 1876, for having used his position on the State Text Book Commission for corrupt purposes.

<sup>68</sup> William J. Etter, assistant clerk of the House.

(Saturday October 9 1875 Borrowed \$500 from Owens and got \$250 from Cardozo for the printers. Saw Senator Patterson and agreed that he should have \$5000 out of the printing appropriations provided he got Chamberlain to promise that he would say nothing about the printing in his veto message. He told me that Chamberlain and himself were about to visit Washington together Tried to get him to advise the Governor to sign the tax act. Said he would but had no hope that he could accomplish it; however he would try it Told me that Chamberlain spent \$41,000 for his election last campaign Jones agreed with me in reference to Pattersons fee. Saw Melton today and had a distinct understanding with him relative to my case. Left for Charleston.)

Monday October 11 1875 The News contains another malicious editorial. Another hint for hush money. Beleive I will turn over the printing to Thompson anyhow and then if attacked by the News, it would be corruption meeting corruption. It will probably be the only way to have Dawson and Riordan shown up. Jones and self visited Mr J. B. Campbell and got his opinion that nothing could be done with us Agreed to pay a handsome fee if he would write our answer.

Thursday October 12 1875 Received a peculiar letter from Judge Carpenter and wrote a reply stating I would be in Columbia Friday morning.

Wednesday Oct 13, 1875 Another attack of the News on the printing appeared this morning. Jones showed me a reply he had prepared. Told him I would advise him not to publish it. We could make them more miserable by taking no notice of their attacks. We will wait for official report of the Attorney General to vindicate us. Beleive Judge Melton to be a fair man and not afraid to do right even against public opinion. Wish he would be a candidate for Governor. Think there will certainly be a bolt if Chamberlain is renominated. Wish Patterson could induce him to sign the tax act.

(Thursday October 14 1875 Strange to say there is nothing in the papers this morning about Woodruff & Jones. Like a great many good things "crowded out")

(Friday, October 15 1875 Left for Columbia. On arrival at Kingville, Genl Kershaw,<sup>69</sup> Genl Wm M. Shannon,<sup>70</sup> Col DePass<sup>71</sup> and others got aboard. Wanted to talk with these gentlemen, but really have not the face to do it. Feel ashamed. But Genl Shannon who was always kind and particularly friendly to me in the old legislatures, came up and shook hands. Said he thought I did not remember him; but told him I never could forget him. Col De Pass was also as

<sup>69</sup> See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 95, n. 116.

<sup>70</sup> A prominent Democrat; he lost his life in the famous Cash-Shannon duel of 1880.

<sup>71</sup> Probably W. D. DePass of Kershaw County.

polite as of old.) On arrival in Columbia went to printing office Shrewsbury told me that a plan of adjustment had been agreed upon. The Governor was to recommend that the printing and other claims be embraced in a bill paying the claims in two annual instalments. Don't mind that. If the Judge thinks well of it, its all right. Had an interview with Cardozo which terminated in an interview with Thompson. The latter proposes wants us to give the Union Herald a share of the printing and wants the job of printing the Supreme Court descisions. That might help us get a loan

Saturday Oct 16 1875 Thompson told me of the Governor's plan for adjustment of claims. Well anything to save the reputation of the human family and keep the peace. Met Judge Carpenter and made an engagement to meet him at the Court House, side door, one o'clock tomorrow. Made an engagement to meet Cavender at at 12 o'clock tomorrow in my office. Did not succeed in any financiering today. Owens arrived from Charleston today and talked about getting married. Saw Judge Melton and told him I had put in my answer in the case in his office, with books &c.

Sunday October 17 1875 Took a ride with Judge Carpenter. He said the Governor had agreed to recommend that the claims in sundry sections of the tax act be divided and paid in two years, half in one year and half the following year. Told him I agreed to this provided nothing better could be done. Willie [Jones] made propositions to take the job office and bindery off our hands and do the binding himself. Think that feasible. I wish Cochran's<sup>72</sup> first printing bill had passed and that he would get it up again. It would be really glorious save the state, myself included and it can be carried. We made a great mistake in not accepting and working for John's bill when first offered.

Monday October 18 1875 Learned that a member of the Thomas W Price Company<sup>73</sup> had arrived with the stationery & that it would be delivered today. Thompson came along and introduced me to a Mr Senior. Shortly after commenced the delivery of stationery which was drawn in four horse wagon loads. The Senate boxes were separated from the House. Tried Thompson on the money question, as to a loan. He thought it could be accomplished. Jones and I had a conversation on Immigration Report, which Jim Thompson proposed to finish writing for us and then print the balance for \$5000. We thought it best to continue Mr Pelham<sup>74</sup> at the work. Will commence opening stationery next week. Saw Owens but found it doubtful of doing anything with him in the shape of a loan. The bank don't propose to let us have any. Thompson and the Thomas W Price Company may.

<sup>72</sup> John R. Cochran. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 92, n. 97.

<sup>73</sup> Of Philadelphia.

<sup>74</sup> C. P. Pelham or his son who succeeded him in this work.

Wednesday October 20 1875 Cardozo and Thompson I think are fixing up a job on the Republican Printing Company. They want the worst kind to send some of the State printing to Philadelphia so as to have it said, it can't be done here. Well if we can't get a loan from Thomas W Price Company I think we will get it from Owens. Cardozo has promised though to let Shrewsbury have \$250 this week for the printers. Owens wants to help us but don't like to put his money out on printing orders, unless Cardozo endorses the orders with written promises to pay. Left for Charleston Saturday October 23 1875 The News has had nothing about Woodruff & Jones for several days. In slang phrase why is this thus. It is their only stock in trade. I could not expect anything in a law suit against Riordan & Dawson. In the first place they are perfectly irresponsible, neither owning any property here, and in the next place Judge Reed<sup>75</sup> holds that a newspaper can say anything it pleases about a public officer and create public sentiment against him, unless malice can be proved; which of course is impossible to prove what is in a man's heart. Its no use to work against public sentiment

Tuesday Oct 26 1875 Left for Columbia. On the train met Mr. B. G. Shaffer phonographer going to Orangeburg. Said if Whipper<sup>76</sup> was commissioned he would resign as stenographer, as he did not get his money now & could not possibly do it with Whipper on the bench; Old McKay<sup>77</sup> was on board and spoke harshly of Chamberlain. He told me that his friend J Douglas[s] Robertson denies everything connected with the school slander.<sup>78</sup> Jim Thompson told me, on arrival in Columbia, that he had not heard a word from Thomas W Price Co. Had another conversation with Owens and he agreed to do something in event of failure of Price Company to make a loan to us

Wednesday October 27 1875 Jones informed me that he had settled his \$2100 claim. I fear it will be charged to our special payments for printing and deducted from the allowances now and then given us by Cardozo. There is no telling what the outrageous pirates won't do Jones had to give half to get the other half. Well we ought not to fear but rather court a strict investigation of a legislative committee. Cardozo said the Governor wanted to see me. Well I shall certainly give him a call and ask him what he is going to do about us or for us. Wish I could write and have Pelham father some of the communications

<sup>75</sup> Judge J. P. Reed, of the first circuit which included Charleston.

<sup>76</sup> W. J. Whipper, Negro legislator from Beaufort, was chosen by the legislature to succeed Judge J. P. Reed. Chamberlain opposed the election, considering Whipper totally unfit, and refused to issue the commission. The Supreme Court denied Whipper the commission.

<sup>77</sup> Possibly D. McKay, a clerk of George Symmers, Columbia merchant.

<sup>78</sup> That is, the use of his official influence to secure the adoption of the schoolbooks of certain publishers.

Anything to beat this infernal crew. Would like somebody to bid in the Company. I consider the R. [epublican] P. [rinting] Co bankrupt. This payment to Jones has been put down to deficiencies Will see Minton<sup>79</sup> and ask him how much has been paid on printing.

Thursday Oct 28 1875 Opened stationery today. McKinley<sup>80</sup> News correspondent was present and said he did not see much to criticize Failed to get any response from Thompson and will try to get a loan from President Simonds of the First National Bank.<sup>81</sup> Etter told me that Frank Moses was very sanguine of the success of the bonanza act before the Supreme Court. But I do not expect a decision before meeting of the legislature Cardozo of course will do all in his power to annoy us. The fact of his furnishing Jim Thompson with copies of vouchers to be used against R. [epublican] P. [rinting] Co indicated his feelings against us. Well if this matter is not settled before the legislature meets I shall certainly ask for a committee of investigation Barnwell<sup>82</sup> says he believes in investigations. So do I. Thompson is a big fraud. Left for Charleston.

(Monday November 1 1875 Campbell the broker spoke to me relative to payment of a census claim Told him I would try to collect it for him. I see by Treasurer's monthly report Cain<sup>83</sup> was paid a contingent account certificate paid. I suppose that will be a bone of contention.)

Tuesday November 2 1875 Left for Columbia this morning & met Cavender on train. He told me he was preparing an answer for us and said I would like to submit it when ready to Mr J. B. Campbell. Long informed me that Willie had taken no receipt from him for what had been paid for binding<sup>84</sup> On arrival tried to find Thompson but failed. Learned that Cardozo had gone to Winnsboro.

Wednesday November 3 1875 Saw Thompson who informed me that Price had failed to get the desired loan. I shall have to rely on Owens. Will be able to get through if the bonanza bill goes through. Saw the Governor but could learn nothing definite from him. Could not tell what to think of the Governor. Received a note from Judge Mackey brought by the hands of Mr Couch<sup>85</sup> relative to some paper &c

<sup>79</sup> T. J. Minton, bookkeeper in the office of the state treasurer.

<sup>80</sup> J. Carlyle McKinley, correspondent of the *News and Courier*.

<sup>81</sup> President Andrew Simons of the First National Bank, Charleston.

<sup>82</sup> Probably Joseph W. Barnwell, Democratic member of the legislature from Charleston.

<sup>83</sup> Probably Lawrence Cain, a former slave who had acquired some education and represented Edgefield County in the House, 1868-1872, afterwards in the Senate.

<sup>84</sup> This sentence is crossed out in the original.

<sup>85</sup> Possibly S. J. Couch, member of the House from Chester, 1874-1876.

Thursday November 4 1875 Saw Jim Thompson at Governor's office Said he had not received any answer though he had telegraphed and all that sort of thing. Did not attempt to do anything about Jacksons<sup>86</sup> note. McKay called to see me. He is an old fraud, don't catch me as easy as he had imagined

Friday November 5 1875 I shall have to tell Cardozo that the law authorising the Treasurer to pay accounts for printing out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is still in force. Had a long interview with Cardozo relative to money affairs; when he said he would see me later in the day Cardozo expresses considerable doubt as to Mr Thompsons course in the Herald. Melton I suppose has parted with his share & Jim Thompson will yet get the whole of the Herald. The Governor wants to control everything and he shall not do it if the legislature has any backbone. Told Cardozo I considered the whole proceedings initiated by Thompson nothing but blackmail and I proposed a Committee of Investigation.

Saturday November 6 1875 Interviewed Cardozo again today who said the whole proceeding against the Republican Printing Company was for blackmail and expressed his regret that the Union Herald had been used for that purpose. Etter promised us a draft on the Carolina National Bank to help us out this week. Dunn sent for me and proposed that a separate-bill be passed for the claims in the tax bill. Dont agree to it. Told him that the legislature had been prejudiced against the claims. I see we have to make a big fight and fight it is. He spoke to me also about the bonanza bill and made a new proposition in reference to that. Let the rest do as they will, I propose to get my claim if possible in the tax bill.

Sunday November 7 1875 Called on Puffer<sup>87</sup> relative to his share in the Union Herald. Said he had promised it in a contingency to Thompson. Did not say anything harsh of Chamberlain as I felt certain Puffer would repeat it

Monday November 8 1875 Saw Puffer again today and he told me he was willing to sell with the approval of Chamberlain. Will try to have a talk with the Governor. Had a long talk with Mr Laidler<sup>88</sup> which I regarded as of the utmost importance as it gives me the wink how to talk with Chamberlain Left for Columbia. Met Govr Magrath and had some old time talk with him and with Mr. Parsons.

Tuesday November 9 1875 Arrived in Columbia. Met Owens who told me to look out for next monthly report and I would find that the Treasurer had used me up completely. Had an interview with the Governor in which he ex-

<sup>86</sup> Probably W. H. Jackson, bookkeeper employed by the Republican Printing Company.

<sup>87</sup> C. C. Puffer. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 28.

<sup>88</sup> Probably William Laidler, a Columbia newspaper man.



pressed his determination to compromise only upon a separate bill for the claims, providing Comptroller General warrants payable in two years. Said he would beat us as he had the public with him. Govr Magrath said he had spoken a good word to the Governor for me, and thanked him for it. Beleive Governor Magrath would do all he could for me. I hardly know what to think about a legislative commission or investigation. The Governor is seemingly anxious to avoid it. Cardozo said I had better not. Told him I did not intend that this matter be held over my head any longer.

Wednesday November 10 1875 Feel badly in relation to money matters. Hope my creditors will let me alone. Had a talk with Maxwell.<sup>89</sup> He seemed to waver as he always does. He says he will stick by me but that he has made nothing out of this thing except what he made through Leslie and myself and that it all went up in the Freedmans Bank.<sup>90</sup> Nash, Maxwell, Runkle and Little<sup>91</sup> each took some stationery. Frank Moses sent for a supply. Interviewed Childs this morning and he thought if Owens wanted to help me he could do so. Will make up all my packages of stationery as soon as possible.

Thursday November 11, 1875 Met Owens who said he was going to the fair and would do nothing in the way of business today. Cardozo told me he expected an answer from Price this week. Senator Duncan<sup>92</sup> called and I gave him his pocket knife. Cardozo said the Governor will sign a bill for claims provided they are separated from the tax bill. Told him I intended to fight a separate bill. Saw Senator Cochran who read me his message to the people of South Carolina. Its very good. Maxwell, Hirsch<sup>93</sup> and Lip Levin<sup>94</sup> called. Thompson called and said he would loan so much money. Telegraphed to Jones that it was important he should be here tomorrow morning. Met Pelham and interviewed him on the Immigration report. Said he was hard at work upon it.

Friday November 12 1875 Saw Chamberlain but received very little encouragement. Cardozo could not suggest anything, but agreed to pay \$150 for binding. Made up my calendar of unfinished business for the printers; also prepared my rules and made ready generally for session work. Propose to see Melton tomorrow and engage him to see us through with that \$90,000. After getting that I would be willing to take a back seat. Owens never comes to see me now.

<sup>89</sup> H. J. Maxwell, native Negro senator from Marlboro County.

<sup>90</sup> In 1874 the National Freedmen's Savings Bank (Washington), with branches in Charleston and Beaufort, failed.

<sup>91</sup> John L. Little. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 94, n. 106.

<sup>92</sup> D. R. Duncan, representing Spartanburg County.

<sup>93</sup> Probably Melvin J. Hirsch, member of the House, 1874-1876, representing Williamsburg County.

<sup>94</sup> L. T. Levin, Columbia bookkeeper and accountant, employed by the legislature in various clerical capacities.

Sunday November 14 1875 Made draft of opening remarks for Lt Govr[.] Runkle called, staid sometime and as he was leaving said again he could give me some information that would enable me to ruin others who wanted to ruin me.

Monday Nov 15 1875 Had an interview with Cardozo and showed him his dispatch to me asking for the loan of some claims \$1250 which he had paid and not accounted to me for the money. Told him it was not a contribution to the Union Herald as I recollected the circumstance very well. Wanted him to understand that I knew he had paid himself, had used the money and therefore ought to help me. Said he would look the matter up; don't expect I shall hear any more about it. Had a consultation with Thompson. He did not appear opposed to my getting a controlling interest in the Herald.

Tuesday November 16 1875 Made several unsuccessful efforts today to negotiate a loan for the office. Tried Southern;<sup>95</sup> he thought I had better try in Charleston tried Scott & Co,<sup>96</sup> they had just loaned & they could not; tried Carolina & Central banks; neither could do anything Just now; might at some future time. Saw Cochran and others today but failed to get any information as to proposed programmes. Heard that Cardozo had been secretly working against our negotiations for a loan and sent him a note to that effect. He replied that I had been misinformed. Interviewed Cavender and read bill prepared by him. Cavender has a level business head; wish he was in the Senate.

Wednesday November 17 1875 Failed to get near Cardozo today. Owens dined with me but did not say money once. Had an interesting interview with Mr Pelham who promised to hurry up the work on the Immigration Report

Thursday November 18, 1875 Jones and self had an interview with Cardozo. Cardozo proposed through himself & the Governor to effect a loan for us from the Carolina National Bank of \$5000; provided we pay or give an order on the printing for \$5000 to be used by him and Chamberlain for the payment of a note of \$4000 given by them for the debts of the Union Herald; and \$1000 for Puffers share in the paper to be transferred to us. He also offers to get us Meltons share for \$1000 order. Postponed descision until we saw him again. Several parties spent the evening with Jones & self in my office. We came to the conclusion we would have to fight Cardozo. Think Cardozo has skinned me and that I shall yet give Shrewsbury an order to collect that \$1250 out of him Will give him that for Meltons share in the Herald.

Friday November 19. 1875 The papers this morning give an account of an accident on the cars with Governor Chamberlain on board and state that he had

<sup>95</sup> J. P. Southern, Columbia banker.

<sup>96</sup> Edwin J. Scott and Company of Columbia, bankers and brokers.

a narrow escape. Failed to see Cardozo today. Dunn thought he could effect a loan on our orders at 80 cts; that is to get us \$4000 for a \$5000 order. Told him I would be glad to make the arrangement; anything to accomplish our purpose and pay printers. Am indifferent as to what Cardozo will do. Left for Charleston.

Saturday Nov 20 1875 Arrived home and tried to raise money through Charleston banks on printing orders but failed. Tried Puffer & Hurley<sup>97</sup> but was answered by their usual sarcastic grins.

Sunday November 21 1875 Received dispatch from Cardozo relative to loan. Will have to take the loan as proposed by Cardozo, though we have to pay very dear for it. Still we have to get the favor of Chamberlain and Cardozo. Its only another forced contribution to the Herald and blackmail by the Governor & Treasurer

Monday November 22 1875 Arrived in Columbia. Jones and self interviewed Cardozo. He beat us, and got a \$5000 order for the Herald, which is to include \$1000 for Puffers share and also Meltons share upon our giving another order for \$1000. Really don't want Melton's share. Do not desire to have anything more to say about the paper. Got the \$5000 loan from the Carolina National Bank. They are in with Cardozo and Chamberlain. Shall see Cardozo tomorrow and demand that \$1250. He has paid himself the amount in full of those claims and at least should give me half. Told Jones he must take care of Elliott hereafter that I would not have anything more to do [with] him I took care of Presiding Officer of the Senate and he should look after the Presiding Officer of the House

Tuesday November 23 1875 Senate met today with a quorum Governor's message read; veto message expected. Neglected to speak to Cardozo today; will do so tomorrow. Senators all appeared in good humor, ready for business. Must get some extra change for ready use. Have no refreshments yet.<sup>98</sup> Prepared an appropriation bill. The News calls Stokes<sup>99</sup> of the Union Times a wilful and malicious liar. Stokes should consider that a compliment Coming from such characters as Dawson and Riordan.

Wednesday November 24 1875 Spoke to Cardozo again this morning relative to that \$1250 claim. Said he did not think of it and asked me to excuse him for the present. All claims before the Senate were ordered to be returned to Committee on Claims and they were accordingly given to Senator Nash Chair-

<sup>97</sup> Timothy Hurley. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 82, n. 32.

<sup>98</sup> A refreshment bar was operated gratis in the Statehouse for the benefit of the legislators.

<sup>99</sup> R. M. Stokes, editor of the *Union Times*.

man. Distributed stationery package and copies of Rules of Senate. Saw McLaughlin<sup>100</sup> and gave him a statement of my difficulties.

Thursday November 25. 1875 The Pressman Patton frightened me today about scarcity of paper. Must try and meet our paper notes. If Cardozo does not come to time I shall have to make a strike somewhere or somehow

Friday November 26 1875 Cardozo promised to help us by paying us some money appropriated for advertising acts. Told him I would be glad to get it. Would like to get Melton's share for that \$1250 but don't know as I care much about it. They are determined though that the State printing shall support the Union Herald. Shall bide my time and see how matters work out. Held a conversation with Judge Melton. Would like to see him Governor, Attorney General or anything else he wants.<sup>101</sup> May be United States Senator yet.

Saturday November 27 1875. Called on the Governor this morning. Told me he would fight any scheme for payment of claims except the one he proposed. Saw Cardozo and told him the officers of the Central National Bank promised us a loan of \$5000 if we helped them with their claim. Cardozo promised to help us in this matter also. Wish Cardozo would let me have that money he owes me to pay some pressing claims against myself.

Sunday November 28 1875 Trust Nash is not offended at me for plain talk. Am afraid he will turn on me. Wrote report for State Librarian [Adolph] Feininger relative to books in the State Library. Prepared per diem bill for Owens. Saw Elliott and talked with him in favor of Cochran's amendments to supply bill. Elliott said they would not do. Shall have to tell Cochran what Elliott said and make him mad. Hamilton of the House<sup>102</sup> and others called this evening and I am afraid I committed myself. Should have sent them to Jones. Trust the claim bill will pass.

Monday November 29 1875 Called on Cardozo and spoke to him again relative to my claim. Could get no satisfactory response. Don't know what to do about my debts and cant do anything with our orders. Trust the \$90000 will be provided for in the claim bill. I suppose we will have no difficulty in an appropriation of \$50000 for our printing this session according to contract. Tried to introduce by Senator Smith,<sup>103</sup> the per diem bill without notice. Gaillard<sup>104</sup>

<sup>100</sup> A former teller in the Columbia branch of the Bank of the State of South Carolina. After Reconstruction he was convicted of fraudulent transactions in connivance with certain state officials. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Salley for this information.

<sup>101</sup> Melton was elected attorney general, 1872; resigned, May 1, 1876.

<sup>102</sup> Probably Thomas Hamilton, colored, of Beaufort; he won fame in 1876 when he left the "Mackey House" to join the "Wallace House."

<sup>103</sup> J. M. Smith, Barnwell County.

<sup>104</sup> Senator S. E. Gaillard, Charleston County.

objected Tried to have Gaillard agree with me on division of Senate Contingent fund Told them they could of course do as they pleased. Gave Cardozo a package of stationery. Must try to get some money returned from Smalls for that claim of his I settled. Went to Ezell<sup>105</sup> who promised to help me get a loan from the Carolina National Bank.

Tuesday November 30 1875 Tried Cardozo again today but effected nothing.

Wednesday December 1 1875 Saw Cardozo but got nothing out of him. He is a grand old rascal. Had a talk with Mr. Meetze<sup>106</sup> today. Said he was going to opoze that little bonanza bill. Thats a shame. Told him the Printing Company never actually received more than one fourth of the money appropriated for printing and that we never realised more than thirty cents on the dollar net proceeds. Made copies or affidavits in the Holmes case. Leslie came and had a quiet talk. The News is hard at it.<sup>107</sup> Wont give them a cent for hush money. Had a talk with Cardozo and told him I understood we had purchased Puffers share in the \$5000. Said that was what he understood and he would see the Governor. Tried to negotiate an order with Owens but failed. Said he would see me tomorrow.

Thursday December 2 1875 Tried Cardozo for more money but he staved me off until Saturday. Tried Childs but failed. All appear badly scared. Col Childs whilst I was there was scratching his head, trying to stave off a Confederate General from Edgefield who wanted a loan There will be a deal more scratching before long. Hirsch made me mad on account of his action on the claims bill in the House this morning. Beleive the bill would have gone through but for Hirsch He was evidently trying to organise the strikers. Both Hirsch and Leslie afterwards disclaimed opposition to me. Had a long talk with Leslie and got him all right.

Friday December 3 1875 Things appear better arranged for the little bonanza. Its a hard Struggle. Tried Carolina National Bank, [J. P.] Southern and others to negotiate a note but failed. Owens at last came to the rescue and agreed to take up my note. Saw Dunn today relative to amount in Treasury charged to advertising acts. Did nothing with him.

Saturday December 4 1875 Tried again to get some money from Cardozo but failed. He is a great fraud. Owens took up my note today. Borrowed ten dollars from Cavender for a poor Senator. Cardozo and self had a very long interview His statements about Puffer show he is a great scoundrel. Cardozo is a

<sup>105</sup> J. B. Ezell, a broker in Columbia. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Salley for this information.

<sup>106</sup> Henry A. Meetze, member of the House from Lexington County.

<sup>107</sup> That is, denouncing the Republican Printing Company.

funny man. He takes the whole credit for everything good and disclaims having done anything injurious to the Republican party or the State. Received letter from Patterson relative to bonanza bill; said if wanted he would come down. Was certain he could get Chamberlain to sign. Told Cardozo I had a letter from somebody in relation to the bonanza bill that could make Chamberlain sign it. Cardozo expressed perfect astonishment. Guess he was not so much astonished after all. He can't play virtuous on me. Left for Charleston.

Sunday December 5 1875 Arrived home. Telegraphed Shrewsburg to give Grant<sup>108</sup> some money to come down to his wife; said to be sick and deranged on account of Grant's inability to get any money on his pay certificates. Nothing else of importance.

Monday December 6 1875 Grants wife died today and I gave him an order for a coffin

Tuesday December 7 1875 Arrived in Columbia. Great excitement. It was rumored that the Governor had gone back on his agreement and wanted a further reduction of the tax bill. Learned that the Attorney General was with the legislature this time. Judge Mackey called and said he was preparing a bill relative to arrests in civil cases. Told him I thought Nash wanted just such a bill and would introduce it. Became excited over a reported statement of the Governor that there were double vouchers out for Sissons<sup>109</sup> claim. Its a question with me whether I should have retained the claim or whether the Treasurer should have the papers for his vouchers. Perhaps the whole of the vouchers should have been retained in my office

Wednesday December 8 1875 Saw Cardozo and signed his bond. Supposed it was only a matter of form. Can swear however I am worth over \$10,000 but not in ready money or real estate. Owens told me of some of Leslie's secret work against me. Will have to watch him.

Thursday December 9 1875 Let Leslie work against me. Tom Johnston<sup>110</sup> Boston<sup>111</sup> and others called on me relative to Bonanza bill. Told them I would do my best but they must not expect too much. Sent for some refreshments and the Committee on Finance reported the per diem bill. Talked with Leslie and told him what I had heard. Said it was all stuff.

<sup>108</sup> Possibly J. J. Grant or William A. Grant, members of the House from Charleston, or possibly one of Woodruff's assistants.

<sup>109</sup> R. A. Sisson, Senate reading clerk.

<sup>110</sup> Thomas B. Johnston, merchant, representing Sumter County in the House, 1872, 1877.

<sup>111</sup> Joseph D. Boston, member of the House representing Newberry County, 1870-1876.

Friday December 10 1875 Called on Atty Genl Melton this morning for his report Told me he would give it to me tomorrow, that it would give Chamberlain and Cardozo some severe raps & that Judge Carpenter agreed with him in his view of the case of Woodruff & Jones.<sup>112</sup> The Committee of Ways & Means have gone back on us. Mr Etter says Johnston told him that the Committee were not satisfied with Jones, that Jones would not talk business and they were now going into the merits of the claims Well I have told them if they pass the big bonanza, they must also pass the little bonanza or I could do nothing for them. Had an interview with the Committee of Ways & Means tonight but nothing of importance was done. Mr Meetze presided I doubt the passage of the little bonanza Must try to get the printing claim through either in the bonanza or by special Joint Resolution.

Saturday December 11 1875 The little bonanza passed the House on its second reading. Spoke to Elliott and told him he must go to Jones. Do not intend to be fleeced out of everything myself. I suppose now he will put every obstacle in our way. Cavender told me he had fixed it with regard to Elliott. Am glad of it. Feel queer on the situation. Don't know what I can do with Nash, but will have a talk with him. Guess he will help me out.

Sunday December 12, 1875 Sent letters to several newspapers to send in their bills for papers furnished Senate. Tried to persuade Nash and the Lt Govr to pass little Bonanza without usual reference to Committee

Monday Dec 13 1875 Sent for refreshments. The little bonanza after something of a fight was referred to Committee on Finance. The tax bill was also recommitted. (Several House members called relative to their vote on the little and big bonanza bills. Dont like the way some other interested claimants are trying to worm out of me what I am paying the rank and file.) The little bonanza I fear will not go through so easily. If the Company had its debts paid I would get out of this whole thing. Gave Benedict<sup>113</sup> a new note for what the

<sup>112</sup> Attorney General Melton refused to allow the state to become a party to the suit against Woodruff and Jones. See above, n. 23. From Woodruff's diary it appears that Melton was accepting retainers from Woodruff. In his report to the general assembly, explaining why the state had not become a party to the suit, Melton stated that whatever was done in regard to the printing was done knowingly and wilfully by the legislature and that it was no business of the judicial to dictate to the legislative branch of the government. "Whatever may be the character of such legislation, and the motives of the Legislature, however, reckless, extravagant and groundless may be the claims thus passed upon and paid, it is beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts to call these matters in question so long as they involve nothing inconsistent with the Constitution of the State or of the United States."

<sup>113</sup> LeGrand Benedict, nephew of Josephus Woodruff; business manager and erstwhile "President" of the Republican Printing Company, 1872-1874.

Company owed him \$5825. By the time its paid it will be about \$1,000. We have paid pretty well for that whistle Well as Leslie would say we are all selfish.

Tuesday December 14 1875 Saw Mr Pelham today and told him I could not pay any more at present on the Immigration Report. The Attorney General told me we could have all his report in by Thursday. Thompson appears friendly and had a little complimentary notice today.<sup>114</sup> Cardozo is doing nothing for us

Wednesday December 15 1875 Saw Nash and explained my position relative to tax bill. He appeared satisfied Sent Judge Carpenter a package of fancy stationery. Saw him in the Senate when he told me there was something coming up he might help me in. Do not know what it was, but I suppose the Attorney General will require us to reply to Thompson's papers. Must see Northrop. I begin to think I shall yet capture some of these blackmailers The attempt to elect Judges was defeated

Thursday December 16 1875 Received Attorney Generals Annual Report including case against Woodruff & Jones. The report is rather favorable though severe on our extravagance &c also the recklessness of the General Assembly. The two Houses in Joint Assembly elected Whipper and Moses Jr Judges.<sup>115</sup> Its a hard case, but is considered a triumph over Chamberlain. I consider Mose's election a menace to Chamberlain. The election took all day and the the Committees failed to report the bonanza bills. I fear the little bonanza will not become a law by Christmas. Have worked hard to push the bills along. May be Swails<sup>116</sup> will help me. Will have to pay in second year warrants as I have my debts to pay first. Told Tom Johnston I was obliged to scale my obligations same as state; one half.

Friday December 17 1875 Failed to get the Committee report the little and big bonanzas. They may do it tomorrow. There is no telling. Nash is very queer. The tax bill received its second reading today and went through with the printing section all straight. Gave my last dollar away today. Whittemore and others called to see me and told me about the 8th section of the tax bill, that it should be 1 9/10 for legislative expenses &c Learned from Cavender that Judge Melton told him he had sold his share in the Herald to Chamberlain and Cardozo. So we are sold. Well let them run their paper. Would like to see Chamberlain impeached. Heard that Judge Reed complained of Chamberlains absence and that he had been wounded in the house of his friends<sup>117</sup>

<sup>114</sup> In the *Union-Herald*.

<sup>115</sup> Governor Chamberlain had opposed both W. J. Whipper and Moses. The legislature took advantage of his absence to elect circuit judges. Chamberlain's refusal to commission them won praise from the whole state.

<sup>116</sup> Stephen A. Swails. See "Diary of Josephus Woodruff," *loc. cit.*, p. 88, n. 78.

<sup>117</sup> Whipper had been elected circuit judge to succeed J. P. Reed.



Saturday Dec 18 1875 The Company is in a bad fix as regards money. Have not seen Cardozo recently and know not what he will do. Don't know what Carpenter wants. The Union Herald seems to be down on the Governor or down on the bonanza bills I cannot tell which. I don't care Things have taken a queer turn. The Committee failed to report, owing to a hitch on the claim of the Central National Bank. The tax bill has gone to the Governor for approval. Do not mind if the Governor vetoes it. I shall have nothing more to do with the Union Herald. Its a dead beat.

Sunday Dec 19 1875 The Union Herald wants the little and big bonanza bills killed. Well let them go ahead. Have been requested not to send the tax act to the Governor too soon. Thought it had gone. Well will keep it back until little and big bonanza bills are ratified Chamberlain has beaten the legislature enough. Etter, Cavender, Dunn and others called in and talked about the bonanzas. Told them I could not tell what Nash would do. Swails came in twice. Told him it should cost him nothing to be elected Treasurer He thought he could get the bonanza bill reported tomorrow. I trust so but have no faith in Nash although he has some claims of his own.

Monday December 20 1875 The Governor is on the rampage. Had an interview with Cardozo and he wanted me to draw certificates only for \$200. Am going to draw all of them up. Patterson arrived from Washington apparently in good humor. Can't tell what the Governor will do; he is such a great fraud There was great excitement relative to Governor's interview reported in the News.<sup>118</sup> The little bonanza went through today. The crowd was not so hard on me as I supposed Swails must be shown some evidence of gratitude. Let the Governor and Thompson go. Dunn refuses to appeal.<sup>119</sup> There is some talk about a new paper and a hard, hard road for somebody to travel. Chamberlain has left the republican party, Patterson[,] Carpenter and the rest of them. The Governor will no doubt sign the tax bill but will let the little bonanza slide

Tuesday December 21 1875 Wrote letter to Cardozo enclosing list of attachees. The session was very exciting The little bonanza was ratified but after all others and with an error in it. That was very unfortunate. There is no telling what a slip may do and the Governor will do almost anything to get out of signing it. There was some fear that the Governor would not sign the little bonanza but Cardozo told me again he would Jervay can get \$500. Agreed to

<sup>118</sup> In an interview reported in the *Charleston News and Courier*, December 20, 1875, relative to the elections of Whipper and Moses, Chamberlain said: "This calamity is infinitely greater, in my judgment, than any which has yet fallen on this State."

<sup>119</sup> Apparently a reference to Comptroller General Dunn's failure to appeal the decision of the court in the mandamus case when the court was asked to compel the state or comptroller general to issue warrants in payment of certain claims against the state. See above, n. 60.

get the Lieutenant Governor \$1200. I suppose we shall be pressed now, but they must not expect pay until we get our money.

Wednesday Dec 22 1875 Made up all my certificates, and received half of my salary. The Governor approved the tax act and per diem act today. Wish the Committee would report the big bonanza. Cavender thinks the Governor will approve the Little Bonanza and so do I, but the members dont trust the Governor and are determined to sit the time out. The Committee on Contingent accounts agreed to sundry accounts

Thursday December 23, 1875 The papers predict a veto of the little bonanza. I don't beleive it. The big bonanza passed the Senate just as it came from the House. I twigged<sup>120</sup> the Governor, Melton and Cardozo all working together. Nash appears to feel sore at the way things have gone and Leslie

Friday December 24 1875 The big bonanza passed Senate, was ratified and sent to the Governor Both big & little bonanza bills were then approved.<sup>121</sup> Leslie came to see me and admitted that he was powerless to do anything. All the friends recognise the fact that we could not do so much as they supposed. Left for Charleston.

Wednesday Dec 29 1875 Jones and self went out and talked with several including Cavender. I know I promised parties in the House of Representatives as well as Senate a great deal. Met T. A. Davis<sup>122</sup> who was badly off. Could do nothing at present; or until we get a loan. Baldwin<sup>123</sup> thought he could help us. Cardozo advised us to try and get the bills of the Bank of the State through so as to save taxes. Would like to see them funded. Tried to get a loan from some of the banks but failed

Thursday Dec 30 1875 Negotiated a \$2200 warrant for \$2000 with Baldwin, which enabled us to take up all the due bills of the printers. Mr Pelham wanted to go to Greenville and I paid him \$100. Expect to get those papers of Jim Thompson from Runkle. Thompson told Runkle he wanted to have no more to do with them.

Friday December 31, 1875 Remember conversation with Mr Pelham yesterday. I agreed with him that the democrats can carry the State next year if they

<sup>120</sup> "To observe closely; notice or watch."

<sup>121</sup> The "Big Bonanza" provided for a tax of one mill for three years to pay the floating debt of the state to the amount of about \$500,000. The "Little Bonanza" required Chamberlain to set up a court of claims to audit and pay claims based upon legislative pay certificates or state treasurer's due bills to the amount of half their face value. A tax of one-half of one mill was provided for this.

<sup>122</sup> Thomas A. Davis, of Charleston, member of the House, 1870-1876.

<sup>123</sup> Probably C. H. Baldwin, Columbia banker.

try. I certainly shall have no objection. Would like to get in the Senate as Clerk again. Thompson and Low<sup>124</sup> called to see me and we had quite an interesting conversation. Want to do something for Judge Carpenter.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Probably James P. Low, formerly chief engineer of the Blue Ridge Railroad.

<sup>125</sup> The manuscript ends abruptly with an incomplete sentence which is omitted. However, the diary was continued as late as February 4, 1876, at least. An entry of that date was printed by the Democratic legislative investigating committee after the overthrow of Chamberlain. Like the other missing parts of this diary, it may not have been returned by the printer.

## Book Reviews

*The South Looks at Its Past.* By Benjamin Burks Kendrick and Alex Mathews Arnett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. x, 196. \$2.00.)

This book is made up of an introduction and four essays, of which two deal with the Old South and two with the New. The titles are worth quoting here: "The Old South, Traditional and Real," "The Old South Passes Prematurely," "The Past Does Not Come Back," and "The South Strives to Follow the National Pattern."

Although no sustained narrative is intended to pass down from beginning to end, there is a well-defined and unified idea that permeates the whole. It is somewhat as follows: The Old South had much in its civilization that deserved to be kept and handed down to succeeding generations. Though there has been a great deal of romancing about the Old South by such writers as Thomas Nelson Page, the content of their work was not so much a question of quality as of degree. True enough, most of the people did not live in the white-columned mansions as the romancers seemed to have them doing, but there were some Southerners who did fill out the picture. Equally true was it, therefore, that most ante-bellum Southerners were not the cultured chivalrous gentlemen and the sweet gentle ladies of the tradition, but there was a sprinkling of these ladies and gentlemen. There were enough to erect a standard to be strived for by many who might never reach it. It was a leaven that did the South good. There was, indeed, a way of life, and an attitude of mind, which did set apart rather generally the ante-bellum Southerner from the post-bellum. Furthermore, according to the authors of this work, the Old South was not dying of internal decay, and it was, therefore, not a matter of the Civil War merely hastening the death of a civilization which was already crumbling. There was much vigor in the Old South and its last decade seemed to show some of the strongest evidence of its continuing strength. It is a little surprising to be told (though not to be doubted) that during the fifties the South built more miles of railroad per hundred thousand population than the North, that the number of manufacturing plants built and the total value of their products were greater in the South than in the North during the same decade, and that the balance of intersectional trade was in favor of the South. This showing was much better than the Southerners themselves, in their despondent complaints against Northern aggressions, led the people to believe.

The Old South was destroyed by the Civil War and in the words of the authors, "We neither praise nor blame it or its enemies but insist that it did not deserve the hard fate of being cut off in the flower of its age. From the way of life which history and tradition ascribe to it we may glean much for the creation of a better and newer South" (pp. 103, 104). And then came the New South with all the readjustments in labor, agriculture, and otherwise, and what has been the result? The authors believe the Negro is no better off materially today than he would have been without the war and Reconstruction, and that "slavery and the Southern system were about as just as other social orders have been" (p. 101). The New South has been beset with the gradual submergence of agriculture and the rise of industries, the day prayed for by Henry Grady and his New Southerners. There has come, on the one hand, the share croppers with all their backwardness, indolence, and poverty, and on the other, the mill workers with their inferiority complex over which they seem never to be able to rise. Yet there has been much progress of a desirable nature in education and during very recent years there has been an outburst of writing and leadership by native Southerners who have decided to follow no longer the false gods of the North. The South should strive to be like nobody but itself. It has a genius all its own; why not develop it? To do so would help reclaim the United States from the deadening effects of monotony, mediocrity, and worse, to which the country seems doomed aided by all the leveling forces now at work. Such seems to be the trend of this book.

The authors, Professors Kendrick and Arnett, have written from a rich store of knowledge gained from documentary sources and monographic studies, and from Southern exposure throughout most of their lives. This book is largely interpretative; and, indeed, the authors make no claims to having uncovered from hidden sources a new set of facts. They are not of the "agrarian school," though they mildly agree with the practical side of such a program. This book seems to have been designed to serve two purposes: To present the point of view suggested above and to serve as a "sort of historical preface" for a Southern regional study directed by Professor H. W. Odum. It has doubly justified its existence, for it has served both purposes well.

Louisiana State University

E. M. COULTER

*James Edward Oglethorpe, Imperial Idealist.* By Amos Aschbach Ettinger. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1936. Frontispiece, illustrations. Pp. xiii, 348. \$6.50.)

Ettinger's *Oglethorpe* is at once the latest, the most brilliant, and the most adequate life of the British politician, philanthropist, and soldier who helped found the colony of Georgia. Evolved from a Beit Prize essay in Colonial history in the University of Oxford, this study was produced by a Pennsylvanian

who appears to have enjoyed no lack of distinguished intellectual connections in both Europe and America.

After thoroughly establishing what the Oglethorpes were like, the author shows the hotbed of Jacobitism into which James Edward was born December 22, 1696. Dr. Ettinger has determined that the youth attended Eton prior to entering Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1714; but Oglethorpe's educational career remains largely blank. Nothing essentially new is offered to describe the young soldier's continental military service. Before returning to England, James Edward actually visited the Pretender's court; and according to the present evidence he is now definitely linked with the Jacobite intrigues in which his Oglethorpe relations were so amazingly involved.

As a member of Parliament for Haslemere, Oglethorpe is given the character of a mild high Tory with independent opinions; by 1730 he had made a name for himself as a humanitarian and had become identified with the anti-Walpole opposition. Of nine chapter divisions in the book, four narrate in consecutive order the development of Georgia from origins through administration, religion, and imperial defense. Oglethorpe's ultimate importance to Georgia is assessed at about the level set forth by J. I. McCain. Dr. Ettinger admits that Oglethorpe's later career is an anticlimax despite the fact that the antique general, retired from field and forum, cuts a unique figure in Johnson's London. The specific Oglethorpe material gathered firsthand by Boswell remains lost, but utilization of the Papers of James Boswell was an advantage to the present author.

It is abundantly evident from the voluminous but concise documentation of this book that a mass of contemporary sources and a wealth of secondary references have been consulted and digested. But in the absence of a bibliography, no one can readily tell whether the author has familiarized himself with any individual source, such as, for example, the volumes of Boyer's *Political State of Great Britain*.

The book is printed in clear type on good paper. There are seven full-page illustrations and one map, a reprint from Boltan and Ross, *The Debatable Land*. However worthwhile for other purposes, the map has almost no value as a guide to Oglethorpe's movements in Georgia. The volume is satisfactorily indexed.

A few minor faults may be mentioned. On p. 84 "had pointed out" should be "has pointed out." The number of Oglethorpe's chartered associates mentioned on p. 118 should be increased by one. "Dr. Samuel Hales 'the clergyman'" on p. 120 is likely intended for either Dr. Stephen Hales or Rev. Samuel Smith. On pp. 121-122 the overzealous biographer, though conscious of V. W. Crane's dissent, nevertheless assigns to Oglethorpe the authorship of the *New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia*. The first footnote on p. 122 does not ring true. A sentence on p. 136 contains a verb in the wrong tense; but worse it advertises a doubtful view about the origin of certain philanthropy. The statement in a footnote on p. 138 that there are no

references whatever to Georgia in specified volumes of the *Lords Journals* is an inconsequential exaggeration. "McCain" on p. 216 and "Benjamin" on p. 222 are misspelled in printing. Finally, the two concluding paragraphs to the last chapter might have been omitted.

Alone of all the Georgia Trustees, Oglethorpe drew the King's pay for military service in America. There are a number of reasons why the subtitle to his biography might better be called "Imperial Realist" than "Imperial Idealist." But Dr. Ettinger's work deserves on the whole to be complimented. Still short of a definitive achievement, this biography will easily rank as the standard life of James Edward Oglethorpe.

Afton, New York

H. B. FANT

*Williamsburg in Colonial Times.* By J. A. Osborne. (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1935. Pp. xxii, 160. \$3.00.)

Under the title of *Williamsburg in Colonial Times*, Mr. Osborne, editor of a Williamsburg newspaper, tells about life in Colonial Virginia as revealed in the files of the *Virginia Gazette*. Quaint expressions appear on nearly every page, and about one-half of the book consists of direct quotations. These quotations and the author's comment upon them have been arranged under seven headings: "News of the Day," "Love," "Items concerning Slavery and Servants," "Wines and Liquors," "Colonial Amusement," "Colonial Merchandising," and "Varied Miscellany Literari." Such topics should interest writers of social history.

Unfortunately, this book is of little value to a research student because, making no claim to exhaustiveness, much valuable knowledge remains in musty files or new photostatic copies. But as a tonic for the eighteenth century historical sense of tourists intending to visit restored Williamsburg, it is excellent.

The first chapter, "News of the Day," is decidedly disappointing. The extracts seem to have been thrown together pell-mell. In addition, it is asserted (p. 19) that the *Virginia Gazette* was the only newspaper in the South in the early decades of the eighteenth century, and it is inferred that such was the case as late as 1766. The *Maryland Gazette* ran from 1727 to 1736, to be revived in 1745. The *South-Carolina Gazette* was begun in 1732, lasted for a few months, and began a new and long career again in 1734. Besides, there were other newspapers of somewhat later origin, appearing under various names, such as the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* and the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, both begun in the 1760's. Though admitting it was not established until 1736, the claim is also made in the preface that the *Virginia Gazette* was the first newspaper to be published south of the Potomac.

The subsequent chapters are much more satisfying. Though critics usually rate the poetry of the *South-Carolina Gazette* higher than that of the *Virginia Gazette*, many of the latter's poems were of excellent quality and its prose was

unexcelled among Colonial newspapers. In the poems frequent allusions were made to classical mythology. The best selections of poetry from the *Gazette* appear in the chapters on "Love" and "Varied Miscellany Literari." The excerpts on the drama, the theaters, and other amusements, and the examples given in illustration of the colonists' sense of humor were selected with admirable skill. Through this book one is permitted to live a pleasant evening amidst the people, high and low, of Colonial Virginia, experiencing to a remarkable degree the emotions they must have felt.

The Citadel

R. L. HILLDRUP

*The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies.* Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XX. By Elizabeth H. Davidson. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1936. Pp. 94. Bibliography. \$1.00.)

In several of the American colonies, before the War of the Revolution, the Church of England was definitely established by statute; parish bounds were fixed, vestries were authorized and their duties prescribed, and provision made for the support of the rectors. But when it came to an enforcement of this privileged status, the machinery was lacking and the popular sentiment which might have given force to the law was weak and unorganized. As a result, the English Church suffered from the resentment and envy of rival religious bodies which lacked the theoretical protection and found itself faced by the unceasing difficulties of self-maintenance. Vestries were sometimes disposed to take advantage of the helplessness of the clergy; where, for example, the minister's stipend was fixed at a certain amount of tobacco, the tobacco was freely given in those years when the commodity brought a low price while in other years the rector of the parish was compelled to accept a sum of money computed at considerably less than the market price of the product. There was, of course, a good deal of friction between clergymen and their vestries; and the insecurity of tenures, where vestries refused to institute rectors into their charges, did much to engender and sustain an unhealthy state of mind.

The failure of the ecclesiastical establishment in America was largely due to the fact that no bishops were provided for the colonies. An episcopal hierarchy, vested with authority from the Crown and at the same time zealous for the advancement of religion and morals, would have protected the clergy in their reasonable rights and would also have given such supervision to the ministers in their work that they would have labored more efficiently and diligently. There were complaints because of the unworthy lives of certain missionaries; but the archives of Fulham Palace and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are full of distressing reports from the ministers themselves. The student who reviews the period with open mind is driven to the conclusion that the absence



of resident bishops was perhaps the greatest impediment sustained by the Anglican communion in early American history.

The author has kept well within the bounds suggested by the title; she has not tried to appraise the quantity or the nature of the work accomplished by the Church of England in the colonies, but has limited herself to a splendid brief survey of the American establishment. Colonial ecclesiastical history has many ramifications and offers an attractive field for the scholar; in fact, we believe that much of our historical writing will be substantially modified by the awakened interest in the British church archives. There is probably no richer mine of early American lore than the collected letters of the Anglican missionaries afford; and no student of the period can afford to disregard these documents. The author of this excellent brochure deserves our thanks.

Holy Cross Rectory, Miami, Florida

EDGAR L. PENNINGTON

*Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776.* 2 volumes. Collated and edited by Leonard Woods Labaree. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, for the American Historical Association, 1935. Pp. xxv, 462; ix, 463-937. Appendixes. \$10.00.)

These two volumes contain the instructions of the Crown to the royal governors of twenty-three American colonies for more than a hundred years. Mainly by eliminating the monotonous repetition of identical phrases in one instruction after another was Professor Labaree enabled to reduce a mass of documents comprising 20,000 to 25,000 articles, to 1076 articles, which are arranged topically according to subject matter, alphabetically by colonies, and chronologically. The ten topics in the first volume are: "The Governor and Council," "The Assembly," "Legislation," "Revenue and Finance," "Currency," "Salaries," "Justice," "Judicial and Administrative Officers," "Military Affairs," and "Maritime Affairs." In the second volume there are eight topics: "Indian Affairs," "Religion and Morals," "Land," "Group Settlements," "Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture," "External Relations," "Reports and Correspondence," and "Trade Instructions." Though the system used in collating the instructions is, as the compiler admits, "complicated" and "unorthodox," it can be mastered by studying carefully the "Introduction" and the "Explanation of Method." Objections to the modernized spelling, punctuation, and capitalization will come only from antiquarians, who may solace themselves with the three sets of uncorrupted instructions in the appendixes. There is an ample index.

No documentary record of British Colonial policy comparable with this work has heretofore been published. The nearest approach to such a record is the three-volume set of *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America*, a Carnegie Institute of Washington publication. But since the acts of Parliament affecting the colonies were generally based on policies formu-

lated and recommended by the various executive departments in the name of the Crown, it is not incorrect to say that the course of British Colonial policy may best be traced through these instructions.

Only a few of the instructions are in print, and the others are not easily accessible. As a source library, therefore, serving alike the candidate for the master's degree and the most distinguished Colonial historian, the collation is indispensable. Undergraduates will not find the reading uninteresting. Begun by Professor Labaree as an aid to his study of *Royal Government in America* (New Haven, 1930), the work is a distinct and unusual contribution to the field of early American history. To him and to the trustees of the Beveridge Memorial Fund, who financed the project, students of the period are deeply indebted.

The space allowed for this review will not permit a consideration of the many problems that the compiler had to solve. Selecting materials from a vast number of items, devising a system of notes and cross references, determining phraseology, saving printer's ink and at the same time avoiding needless complications—these are a few of the difficult situations which had to be met. When one thoroughly comprehends the ramifications of the method employed, he is compelled to admit that the collator's task, which was "not to discuss at length the course of British colonial policy, but rather to set forth an important body of materials from which it can be studied," has been skillfully executed. The policy of the Privy Council with respect to governors' salaries in all twenty-three colonies between 1670 and 1776 is covered in 49 pages; military affairs for the same period require but 50 pages; currency, 27 pages; Indian affairs, 19 pages. Article 847, "Enforce Acts for the Preservation of Woods," was sent to the governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York. Variations in the language used to the three governors, though slight, are fully given in notes "A" and "B" immediately following the article. In smaller print below the notes are dates showing exactly when the instruction was applicable to each of the colonies. Opposite the name of the colony, in parentheses, is the number of the previous or subsequent article on the same subject for that province. An act of Parliament referred to in an instruction is identified in a footnote at the bottom of the page. Thus, with little effort, the "Broad Arrow" policy of Crown and Parliament in any New England colony can be traced from its inception to the Revolution.

The work lacks but one thing to make it complete. It might just as well have included the instructions before 1670 for the royal colonies of Barbados, Jamaica, Virginia, and the Leeward Islands, even though some of them are in print. Less than a dozen typographical errors are not worth mentioning. All in all, *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776*, is a model of what source material should be, compact, virtually complete, within the reach of all, expertly collated, and carefully edited.

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*A Short History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas.* By the Reverend DuBose Murphy. (Dallas: Turner Company, 1935. Illustrations, tables, maps, bibliography. Pp. ix, 173. \$2.00.)

This the first history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Texas appears happily at the time of celebrating the centennial of Texan independence. It is an expansion of a thesis presented at the University of Texas for the degree of Master of Arts in 1930. As might be expected the work is very carefully done. Every page bears witness to painstaking use of the sources, every important statement being duly documented. The list of sources is divided into "Official Journals," "Newspapers and Periodicals," "Sermons, Leaflets, and Pamphlets," "Parish Registers and Histories," and "Manuscripts." The list of secondary works contains seventeen items. The author does not appear to have made much use of the registers and minute books of the several parishes but otherwise the available material has been adequately covered. The reviewer has detected a few errors but they are not important. The printing is unusually accurate.

The book is divided into sixteen chapters: "Foreign Missions in the Republic of Texas," "The Organization of the Diocese," "The Growth of the Diocese, 1850-1859," "Efforts to secure a Resident Bishop for Texas," "The New Bishop [Alexander Gregg] Begins His Work," "The Civil War," "Expansion after the War, 1865-1874," "Intensive Cultivation, 1875-1892," "The Church's Work for Colored People," "Endowments for Larger Service," "The Church Institute at Austin," "The Missionary Work of the Diocese of Texas, 1892-1918," "Western Texas after the Division, 1874-1914," "Northern Texas and the Diocese of Dallas," "The Missionary District of North Texas," "The Texas Dioceses in the Present." Very full and carefully prepared tables are added showing (I) for each parish and mission of the Diocese of Texas, 1839-1874, the year of organization, the year of erecting the church building, and the acquisition of a rectory; (II) the same information for the Diocese of Texas, 1875-1935, adding the year of acquisition of a parish house; and (III, IV, V) the same information as in Table II for the other dioceses in Texas. A Statistical Summary follows giving the figures for Baptisms, Confirmations, Communicants, Clergy, Parishes, Missions, Expenditures, Churches, Rectories, and Value of Property at convenient intervals for the Diocese of Texas, 1849-1874, and for the other dioceses since 1874. The references for statements in the text are grouped after the Tables, making the text much pleasanter to read. The index of thirteen pages is remarkably full, clear, and accurate. The illustrations show the eleven bishops who have presided over the several dioceses and the three maps of the diocesan boundaries.

Mr. Murphy has a just sense of values and a good style, with the result that his book is distinctly readable. It is not without striking incidents and there are several outstanding personalities. Its appeal will be, of course, primarily to

members of the Episcopal Church, but as throwing light on an important side of Texas life it should be of interest to all students of Texas history.

One episode even appeals to our sense of humor. In the decade preceding the Civil War the congregation at Austin was torn by political feeling, one party following, as Bishop Kinsolving later characterized it, the Gospel of Jeff Davis, the other that of Abe Lincoln. Though the total membership was only forty-nine, the Southerners seceded and set up another parish. Ultimately the two parishes were reunited, the Northern rector in charge. Later, when the War came on, this rector, Mr. Gillette, refused to use a special prayer issued by Bishop Gregg who was a red-hot Southerner. Mr. Gillette was willing to pray for the President of the Confederacy but he declared he could not conscientiously make the statement about the cause of the War that was contained in the prayer. Letters succeeded arguments, the language growing more and more formal. Presently a sort of truce was made but trouble broke out again after Fredericksburg when the Bishop promulgated a fervent thanksgiving to which Mr. Gillette could not subscribe. As might be expected the Bishop was supported by Texan sentiment as long as the War lasted but Appomattox brought victory to Mr. Gillette. Alas, it was as the apples of Sodom. A bulky pamphlet containing all the correspondence which Mr. Gillette printed as the basis of an appeal to the General Convention of 1865 against the Bishop's tyranny and usurpation got no action from this body and Mr. Gillette himself died shortly thereafter.

University of Texas

W. J. BATTLE

*The History of the German Friendly Society of Charleston, South Carolina, 1766-1916.* By George J. Gongaware. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Publishers, 1935. Pp. xv, 219. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

The tendency of German immigrants to found *vereine* for social, philanthropic, and cultural purposes is illustrated in Charleston by the establishment in 1766 of the German Friendly Society and by the subsequent appearance of a number of similar organizations.

By the close of the American Revolution, the German element in Charleston had increased greatly and, according to the famous Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, "had immortalized itself by several cooperative foundations." He praised the Friendly Society as the "flower and crown of the German nation in this place." Its membership embraced about one hundred of the most prominent Germans of the city. It had a funded capital of upward of £400, the interest from which was used to aid "every needy member (or his widow or orphans), who had been connected with the Society for seven years, and had paid his contributions."

The opportunities to abandon the objectives of the founder were numerous, but only under stress of deep popular feeling did the institution depart from its charitable and fraternal purposes. It advanced £200 for the defense of the city during the Revolution; its members worked as a body on the fortifications in 1814; it contributed \$500 for the construction of the Calhoun monument, and \$500 for the relief of Confederate soldiers. The organization further revealed its spirit during the Civil War by giving "the lead weights in the windows of the Society's building . . . to the Confederate states." But these are isolated instances of departure from the original goal. The material and intellectual welfare of its members and of their dependents were the objects of constant concern.

Racial clannishness was an important factor in the Society's ability to retain the allegiance of its members. Language was a significant cause of community feeling, but that bond of union began to weaken even among the first generation. Thus, services in St. John's Church began to be conducted in English once a week during the Revolution. After 1815 the minister preached once a week in German for a time, and thereafter only occasionally in the evenings. By 1842 the Society's membership was ninety-eight, and of this number eighty could not understand German.

The Civil War seems to have marked a turning point in the institution's history. Its material prosperity and that of its members was shattered; its school closed in 1866. With the virtual cessation of immigration at this time, social life lost a strong bond of unity. Although the Society continues to exist, the zeal that it inspires in its members has doubtless undergone a change.

The historian of the German Friendly Society has used with diligence and admiration the chief primary source, the minutes of its proceedings, but he has availed himself of almost no other material, although newspapers, impressions of contemporaries, and even general histories might have been advantageously drawn upon. Had such additional sources of information been utilized the organization's history might have been rescued from the vacuum in which the minutes, and this book, have left it. The thoughtful reader will probably not be satisfied with the treatment that is given such topics as the problem of the "transient Germans" and the Franklin Library Society, and such men as John A. Wagener and John Bachman. In his discussion of the Society's school, the author is overeulogistic. He is almost never critical; he is often didactical.

In his utilization of the institution's records, the writer cannot escape criticism. His strictly chronological method has led, for example, to the picture of an honored member, "Toasts at an Annual Meeting," "Sixty-sixth Anniversary Meeting," "Contract for a Book Case," and the "Eighty-sixth Birthday and Anniversary" all being discussed on a single page (118). His selection of material to illustrate the first century and a half of the organization's existence, does not, in the opinion of this reviewer, reveal a defensible criterion. For example,

more space is given to rules and routine than to the institution's charitable work. There are numerous long quotations that might have been summarized, relegated to an appendix, or even omitted. The frequent inclusion of meaningless names and disconnected and pointless detail detracts from the work.

To the future historian of the Germans in Charleston, Dr. Gongaware has indicated the nature of an indispensable source. He has given the descendants of the Society's zealous leaders just cause to honor their memory.

An attractive format is enhanced by a number of illustrations. The appendixes contain a complete list of officers and members.

The Citadel

OTTIS CLARK SKIPPER

*The Southern Indian Trade: Being Particularly a Study of Material from the Tallapoosa River Valley of Alabama.* By Peter A. Brannon. (Montgomery: The Paragon Press, 1935. Pp. 87.)

The title of this brochure is misleading; more exact is the subtitle. An adequate treatment of the Southern Indian trade—a rich lode as yet but barely exposed by the historian's pen—would probably require as many volumes as Mr. Brannon's five chapters. As the subtitle suggests, however, and as the preface makes abundantly plain, the author's primary concern is not so much the trade itself as it is "the trade goods themselves—the object as it has been found after this more than a century" (p. 5). Of these objects "at Montgomery . . . literally thousands have been brought together." Included among them are kettles, bowls, arm bands, bells, knives, scissors, thimbles, buttons, buckles, and, most numerous of all, beads. To the author, however, judging by the fact that he devotes a chapter to each, most interesting of all the surviving trade objects are bottles and pendants. Based on a study of about 140 of the former, known to have come from Indian sites, the belief is expressed "that the majority of our bottles are imports from Europe" (p. 66), but that many of the remaining instances represent "genuine American made bottles" (p. 66). If additional evidence were desired of the red man's craving for firewater, such would be afforded by the fact that there have been "found on the Tallapoosa River every pattern or type of beverage bottle which was blown from 1639 to 1810" (pp. 64, 66.) Other bottles, however, contained at least originally, medicine, olive oil, and perfume. As for the pendants, these were made, usually of shell by the early Indians themselves; later, made for the most part of silver or copper, they were distributed rather widely by the Europeans and Americans. In some instances medals were highly prized by their red recipients; such was doubtless the case with the "G. Washington" medal, plowed out on a Tallapoosa Valley plantation in 1929, but which in 1790 had been presented to one of the seven Creek chieftains participating in a conference with the President at New York. Excellent photographic reproductions lend interest to the discussion of trade ob-



jects. The author has seen fit to include brief accounts of the Indian trails of the Alabama country and of the development of the trade itself from its probable beginnings in 1675 to its decline following the War of 1812.

Several shortcomings remain to be pointed out. The reproductions of two maps and a sketch (pp. 8, 14, 86) are on such a scale as to invite eyestrain. There is a lack of uniformity in citations, some appearing in the text, others in footnotes. Nor is uniformity achieved with respect to proper names; the reader finds both De Soto and DeSoto, both Charles Town and Charleston. On each of twenty-two pages the reviewer noted at least one typographical error. On page after page, as part of the text, appears material, such as lists of Creek Indian towns and their traders in 1761 and in 1797, which properly should have been relegated to an appendix. For what purports to be a documented account, there are too few citations; one looks in vain, for example, for the provenance of the list, here reprinted (pp. 50-51), of trading prices officially agreed upon for the Creek country in 1765. In "an abridged bibliography" are listed fifteen titles, nearly all of which represent secondary accounts. There is no index.

To this reviewer the chief significance of Mr. Brannon's contribution would seem to lie in the fact that it calls the historian's attention to a new method of approach to the study of the Indian trade, namely, by means of the surviving trade objects themselves. It is gratifying to note the author's promise of "A subsequent monograph" (p. 5).

University of Tennessee

W. NEIL FRANKLIN

*The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846.* By Henry Putney Beers. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1935. Pp. vi, 227. Maps, bibliography, appendix. \$2.00.)

Having sketched in a preliminary chapter the experiences of the Federal army on the frontier from 1783 to 1815, the author delves deeply into war department archives for material illustrative of the contributions of that army to the West in the years between the War of 1812 and the Mexican conflict. Relevant to Indian affairs he gives the army due credit for treaty making, payment of annuities, removal, the endeavor to suppress liquor traffic, regulation of trade, curtailment of tribal wars, and protection of white settlers. Perhaps there should have been more emphasis on the contrast between the regular army and state militia in shielding the red man from the white. Full recognition of the service of the regulars to the new civilization, in actual man power and in such peacetime activities as the building of roads and the clearing of rivers, is awarded, though one wonders whether the influence of the army in lumbering, cattle raising, agriculture, and education may not be exaggerated. As an influence for peace on the frontier, the army, truly a symbol of the overwhelming power of the United States, probably has received inadequate attention from historians of the West.

For the most part the study details chronologically the story of the advancing northwestern and southwestern military frontiers, which in this period usually preceded white penetration. The Indian campaigns, the task of the army in guarding the fringe between the red man and the white, the fortification of the military frontier, and the relationship between the armed forces and the struggling republic of Texas, are stressed. A mass of detailed information has been collected concerning individual forts and cantonments as well as personalities in the service. No attempt is made to deal with the military escorts and expeditions upon the Santa Fe and Oregon trails, nor with army administration, engineering, or management of Indians.

Of particular interest to Southern history is the part played by the army in the protection of the Southwest before the annexation of Texas, in the removal of the five civilized tribes, and in the fortunes of the Lone Star republic. It is unfortunate that little mention is made of the military frontier in the South, east of the Mississippi, between 1815 and 1821.

As in many a dissertation, indefatigable research has not resulted in a finished piece of writing. Often sentences are awkwardly put together, and the inverted word order does not always please. Expressions such as the following abound: "he entered the Mexican war only to be killed at the battle of Churubusco" (p. 162); "a result of an agreement made by Scott, managed by Chief John Ross" (p. 125); "the first introduction of horses for cavalry tactics" (p. 120); "the latter post was more convenient to operate upon the Indians" (p. 106); Indians "captured a good number of old men, women, and children" (p. 67); Lafitte "transferred his activities to other portions of the Gulf, where he soon disappeared" (p. 65); and "Nothing further is known about this expedition" (p. 55). The use of the word *so* to introduce many sentences is to be deplored. Apparently the author accepts a prejudiced assertion of Winfield Scott as truth (p. 167). The study would have been improved materially by the eradication of such minor slips.

The volume includes an adequate index, a detailed bibliography, two maps, and a list of the forts established between 1783 and 1846. Altogether *The Western Military Frontier, 1815-1846* is a definite contribution in a field singularly lacking in scholarly work.

Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas

JAMES W. SILVER

*Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile American.* By J. Fred Rippy. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1935. Pp. xii, 257. Illustrations, \$3.00.)

This is a worthy little book which should have a place in every library of American biography. It is not a definitive work but it is the only full length biography of Poinsett that has been published. The subject has been too long neglected and Professor Rippy has performed a service in presenting the record

of this remarkable Southerner who was the antithesis of Calhoun, but who is considerably less known than his distinguished contemporary. Professor Rippey emphasizes Poinsett's versatility. He was "the most cosmopolitan and versatile" of his Southern contemporaries, says the author. He was a world traveler, a foreign diplomat, a legislator, and with all was interested in science—especially military science—education, agriculture, horticulture, art, and the current questions of his time.

The facts that stand out in this biography, however, are, first, Poinsett's nationalism, and, second, his efficient administration of the war department under Van Buren. In the South Carolina Nullification episode he took the unpopular stand that nullification was unconstitutional and he became the leader of the "Union" party in that state. As such, he secured the co-operation of President Jackson in meeting nullification with force. He believed that the economic tribulations of South Carolina were due, not to the high tariff—for which, he declared, the state's leaders were partly responsible—but to the overproduction of cotton. He kept steadily in view the advantages of solid union of the states, drawing on his diplomatic experience in Mexico to warn his fellow citizens of the loss of prestige they would suffer from disunion. On the question of slavery he arrived at the view of Hinton Rowan Helper that slavery was unprofitable. He believed that as a consequence it would eventually wear itself out. To the proposal for a confederacy of slave states, he countered with the admonition that it would suffer from two things that would be worse than Yankees—hostile public opinion of the world and the monopoly of the South's foreign shipping by England and France. The interests of the South would be served best by remaining in the Union; those who were trying to break it were a minority, led by disappointed office seekers (p. 325). Poinsett thought Calhoun great only in ambition. Poinsett followed Calhoun to the grave in less than two years, still true to the Union principles of Andrew Jackson. He nevertheless had already declared that if separation should come he would take his stand with the "sons of the South" (p. 237).

As secretary of war, 1837-1841, Poinsett achieved a most creditable record. His genuine interest in things military, coupled with his observation of foreign armies, disposed him to make improvements in the army and to reorganize West Point. The two chapters which cover his record as secretary of war are two of the best in the book. The author asserts that, of the long list of ante-bellum war secretaries, including such names as Calhoun, Cass, and Davis, perhaps none surpassed Poinsett in industry and originality (p. 195).

The author has made use of the Poinsett Papers and other unpublished and printed sources, including a number of newspapers. The book is amply documented, and includes an index. The biography in places is somewhat sketchy, making it difficult for the reader to form a clear and definite picture of the sub-

ject. But Poinsett lacked the angularity of Jackson and Calhoun, and it is not easy to render a vivid account of a perfect gentleman.

University of Chattanooga

CULVER H. SMITH

*Joel Roberts Poinsett: A Political Biography.* By Herbert Everett Putnam. (Washington: Mimeoform Press, 1935. Pp. iii, 240. Frontispiece, bibliography. \$3.00.)

This work is based upon a number of manuscript sources, the Poinsett Papers of the Pennsylvania Historical Society being the most important collection consulted, and several contemporary newspapers. Neither the archives of the state department nor those of the war department were examined, however. Nor were the Van Buren Papers or the local archives of South Carolina investigated. And among the secondary works missing from Professor Putnam's bibliography are Miss Laura White's *Robert Barnwell Rhett* and Professor C. S. Boucher's monographs dealing with South Carolina and the secession movement of 1850.

Despite this remissness in the examination of pertinent materials, Professor Putnam's work should not be neglected by the specialist in the fields of Southern history and American diplomacy. In many respects it is a careful, though somewhat uninspired, sketch of the life of a most attractive statesman, diplomat, and patron of art and learning. Poinsett's missions to South America and Mexico as well as his services during the Nullification controversy and as secretary of war are treated in considerable detail, although his wide travels and certain other phases of his career are dealt with in a rather cursory fashion. Poinsett's life spanned the period from 1779 to 1851.

Duke University

J. FRED RIPPY

*Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War.* Authorized American edition, one volume. By the late Colonel G. F. R. Henderson, with an introduction by Field-Marshal the late Right Hon. Viscount Wolseley. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1936. Pp. xxiv, 737. Portraits, maps, plans. \$5.00.)

For nearly forty years Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* has stood as a classic military biography. It enjoyed fourteen editions extending from 1898 to 1926 before the original plates were worn out. Now it appears in new form.

Henderson brought to his task the scholar's temper, the military man's grasp of tactics, the Englishman's perspective of the American war, and a desire to make Stonewall Jackson live. The product was a notable biography and military

critique made available to Americans at a time when Manassas and the Seven Days and Sharpsburg were still being fought in the pages of periodicals with all the passion and prejudice of the sixties. An early reviewer of Henderson's *Jackson* was therefore led to say that it embodied "the last word" on the military life of the redoubtable Stonewall. That was hardly true at the time and it is considerably less so now. Nevertheless, the book remains generally a model of what such a biography should be. Its analytical approach, its spirited style, and its lucid exposition more than compensate for errors of interpretation, both general and specific, and for occasional outcroppings of Victorianism. Henderson's book remains, after forty years, the standard life of Stonewall Jackson and an indispensable aid—rightly checked—in the study of the War Between the States.

In its new form *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* is a single volume, "authorized American," reissue (from new plates) of the well-known crown edition. There are no changes in content. The documentation, the appendixes, the tables, the maps, and the illustrations are all the same. Even the index entries have been retained without alteration except for the new page references. Nevertheless, the single volume has several physical advantages over the earlier edition aside from the mere matter of integration and continuous paging. Thus it is somewhat larger (8vo.), and the type also is larger as well as considerably clearer. The printing and binding represent publishing at its best. The five oversize maps ("Virginia and Maryland," "Environs of Richmond," "The Valley," "Chancellorsville, Salem Church and Fredericksburg," and "Environs of Warrenton") have been freed of their complicated folding and anchorage in the text to be placed conveniently in a pocket at the end of the volume. It is unfortunate that the publishers did not see fit to re-work the index while they were improving other mechanical features of the book.

There is much in Henderson's *Jackson*, of course, which has been superseded by later research. Thus modern students of the war object to the almost necessary implication in a life of Jackson that the success or failure of the Confederate cause was to be determined primarily upon Eastern battlefields. Likewise, they doubt, for example, that the Confederate generals blundered in not striking out for Washington immediately after first Manassas. Nor are they as hard upon McClellan in the Seven Days and as charitable toward Jackson as Henderson is. But for all practical purposes their estimate of Jackson both as a soldier and as a man squares with that of Henderson. Therefore with the product of modern scholarship judiciously applied as a corrective agent—particularly, of course, Freeman's magnificent *R. E. Lee: A Biography*—Henderson's *Jackson* seems likely to retain its definitive status for some time to come.

*The Making of a Soldier: Letters of General R. S. Ewell.* Arranged and edited by Captain Percy Gatling Hamlin. (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1935. Pp. 161. Map, illustrations. \$1.50.)

The contribution which these letters make is as much in the picture of early frontier military life as in the light thrown on the making of one of the prominent and capable soldiers of the Southern Confederacy.

The fifty or more letters included in this publication are said to "represent the bulk of General Ewell's private correspondence." One letter of his younger brother, Thomas Ewell, killed at the battle of Cerro Gordo, and one by General Joseph E. Johnston are included. The letters were written to his brother, Benjamin S. Ewell, for many years associated with William and Mary College as professor and president, and to two of his brother's daughters.

More than half of the letters, twenty-eight in all, cover the period from Ewell's plebe year at West Point until the time of his resignation from the United States army in 1861. The letters of this period are most interesting. They illustrate the monotony, the dirt, and the lack of female company and entertainment characteristic of frontier army life in the trans-Mississippi West of the forties and fifties. As money was of little immediate use the paymaster came "but twice a year" to the frontier garrisons; the buffalo covered "hill after hill ad infinitum"; and "some of the greatest scamps are missionaries." Ewell wrote that there was "hardly a single girl [at Fort Leavenworth] so fast do they get married"; and again: "This is the worst Country for single ladies I ever saw in my life. They are hardly allowed to come of age before they are engaged however ugly they may be."

It was not until four years after graduation that Ewell had his "first chance . . . for entering civilized society and if possible I shall take advantage of it." One of his first opportunities was an invitation to "one of those assemblages . . . called tea fights." Instead of being "dull and tiresome," as expected, the evening "was distinctly the reverse . . . a most excellent supper accompanied by champagne and other wines in abundance." On the other hand, "The ladies present did not give [Ewell] a very exalted idea of St. Louis for I do not think I ever saw a more homely lot together." At Louisville, the ladies were more attractive, one of them sending Ewell "a bouquet of the finest flowers with a card on which was written in a *female hand* 'From a friend, a Cincinnati bouquet.'" Ewell commented: "These ladies do certainly plague one out of his life," but at least he preferred such a "plague" to "the frontier [with] fried bacon and Indians."

Then came the Mexican War and Ewell went to the Rio Grande where his commander was Major E. V. Sumner, "The greatest martinet in the service, who for our sins has got command of us. . . . We are in a perfect purgatory here . . . [but] Old Sumner has had one effect on us—he has taught some of us to pray who never prayed before, for we all put up daily petitions to get rid of

him." As in other wars and at other times there was "corruption of the Quartermasters Department." There was marching and fighting and death (Ewell's brother and cousin were killed) and then peace and back to civilization "to ride with a young lady worth \$200,000 and 'lovely as the day.'" Several years later, when the army was to be increased Ewell suggested to his brother that he "lobby a little for me . . . for [promotion] to the grade of Major. Wonders are sometimes done by spending a little money judiciously among the proper agents."

As war clouds lowered over the land, Ewell was again ordered to the frontier where he found "whiskey abundant everywhere and scarcely anything else." At the time, however, "Everyone [was] on the tenter hooks of impatience to know what the Southern States will do. Officers generally are very much averse to anything like civil war, though some of the younger ones are a little warlike. The truth is in the army there are no sectional feelings and many from extreme ends of the Union are the most intimate friends." Three months after writing these lines Ewell resigned his commission.

There are only ten family letters of the war years. The most interesting is one written in the midst of the Valley campaign in which Ewell was a subordinate of Stonewall Jackson. Ewell wrote: "Jackson wants me to watch Banks. At Richmond, they want me elsewhere and call me off, when, at the same time, I am compelled to remain until that enthusiastic fanatic [Jackson] comes to some conclusion." Ewell later made caustic comment on his niece's "ideas about 'Chivalry'" and on the use of "low foreigners" by the North. As "a fair offset" he thought the South might use "our negroes." But of the war itself and of the "set of fanatical abolitionists and unprincipled politicians backed by women in petticoats and pants and children" he was even more scornful. He chided his niece on "The chivalry that you were running after in such frantic style in Richmond. . . . [They] have played themselves out pretty completely, refusing in some instances to get out of the state to fight. Such horrors as war brings are not to be stopped when people want to get home. It opens a series of events that no one can see to the end." How prophetic and up-to-date!

Two weeks later, at the Second Manassas, Ewell was badly wounded and lost a leg. At the close of his period of convalescence he married his cousin and youthful sweetheart, a widow from Tennessee. He soon returned to duty, participated in the Gettysburg campaign, concerning which there are no letters, and served until finally incapacitated for further active service. He protested bravely at his relief, but to no avail, being assigned instead to less exacting duty as commander of the troops defending Richmond. In the sally following the evacuation he was captured and confined to Fort Warren for three months. Five of the letters are of this period and five more of the years from 1866 to 1868 written from Tennessee where Ewell had settled as a farmer.

These letters will be useful to any student of the Confederate leadership. Ewell was a capable subordinate leader, an excellent tactician, and a rapid

marcher. Odd in appearance and in speech, he was quick-tempered but generous and kindly and notoriously profane. These letters show him as a loving brother and uncle, fond of feminine society, generous with his money, and interested in his profession. The book has a short introduction and an "appreciation" of General Ewell as a soldier. There are several illustrations, a map of the field of Gettysburg, and an index.

Great Neck, New York

THOMAS ROBSON HAY

*A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley, 1860-1865.* By Mrs. Cornelia McDonald, annotated and supplemented by Hunter McDonald. (Nashville: Cullom & Ghertner Company, 1935. Pp. xvi, 540. Maps, illustrations. \$6.00.)

Mrs. Cornelia McDonald, née Peake, was the second wife of Colonel Angus William McDonald, of the Confederate army. At the outbreak of the Civil War, she was residing at Hawthorn, the family estate at Winchester, Virginia. Her husband, then in his sixty-second year, promptly raised a regiment of cavalry for the protection of the border. Operating mainly in the Upper Potomac region during the summer and autumn of 1861, his horsemen served in outpost duty and threatened Federal communications. Suffering defeat on October 26, 1861, at Romney, Virginia, he relinquished command to the incomparable Turner Ashby. Already in failing health and unfit for duty in the field, on the eve of the evacuation of Winchester by the Confederate forces in March, 1862, he went to Richmond and found employment in the Confederate war department. As a parting word to his wife, who remained behind with a brood of eight, it was requested that she keep a diary and "record every day's events so that nothing should be forgotten when we met again" (p. 38).

As long as Mrs. McDonald remained at Winchester, she states, the record was faithfully kept. Often without writing paper, she used blank leaves of old account books or wrote between the lines of printed books. Then came Gettysburg and another retirement of the Confederates from the Lower Valley. Heeding the advice of relatives, she fell back with the army and settled temporarily at Amherst Court House. Finally, after a short visit in Richmond, she removed with her children to Lexington. Here in December, 1863, she was joined by her husband who came as the post commander of the town; and here she resided to the end of the war.

June 18, 1863, is the last date recorded in the diary. What is more, during the years of refugee life, parts of the work were irretrievably lost. In an effort to reconstruct the account the author completed a manuscript in 1875 containing the residue and data drawn from memory. In the same year she wrote offhand gripping narratives covering her war experiences during the opening and closing



years of the struggle. The entire product of her pen has been edited and published under the present title by her son, Hunter McDonald.

Though the diary has been supplemented and interwoven with reminiscences, its historical integrity has not been entirely destroyed. The relative values of materials are distinguishable in the context, and the discriminating student may gather from its pages occasional gems on a variety of subjects. While Mrs. McDonald nursed the emotions common to her class and fostered the resultant dislike of the mythical Yankee, her high intelligence and sound judgment predominate in the narrative, giving it a tone of objectivity too often lacking in chronicles of its kind. Her accounts of clashes with the Federal soldiery are especially refreshing. Whether submitting to the search of her house, repelling unauthorized intrusions of the common soldier, or forestalling movements to expropriate her stately residence, she exhibited a high degree of tact and good humor. Even the bristling and pompous Milroy yielded to her arguments and saved her house from occupation by the medical department of his own army. Other specific instances elucidate social and economic conditions.

Obviously, not so much can be said of the recollections which flank the diary proper. Though engagingly written, they reflect postwar psychology and betray the presence of exaggerations, anachronisms, and reversals of cause and effect not uncommon in the memoirs of the period. For example, one of the reasons assigned for the movement of Colonel McDonald's cavalry against the Cheat River bridge on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad on June 17, 1861, was "to relieve the remnant of the Confederate forces lately commanded by the ill-fated Garnett" (p. 21); whereas the latter was not driven from Laurel Hill and Rich Mountain until July 12, 1861, and was killed in a rear guard action on July 13, 1861. In commenting on events that came under her immediate observation, however, the author often writes with circumspection and detachment. Her account of the capture and occupation of Lexington by Hunter's forces in June, 1864, contains a minimum of bias and incrimination, notwithstanding the fact that her husband and one of her sons were captured and undoubtedly subjected to indignities and inhuman treatment. Robert E. Lee and other military figures of the Confederacy are pictured in civilian pursuits at close range; and there is pointed comment on the plight of the dispossessed refugee at the close of the war.

The editor has taken infinite pains to supply adequate explanatory footnotes. These embrace biographical sketches, intimate glances, references to official war records, personal recollections, and corrections of detail. There are seven appendixes embodying a genealogy and other materials mainly of interest to the McDonald family. There are three maps and twenty-eight illustrations. The index is satisfactory.

*Sea Dogs of the Sixties.* By Jim Dan Hill. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1935. Bibliography, index, illustrations. Pp. xiv, 265. \$3.00.)

Jim Dan Hill, son of the Texas ranchlands, World War seaman, National Guard field officer, professor of history, and college president, has produced a book of outstanding merit. Flavorous of the sea and turned with the finesse of a scholar, *Sea Dogs of the Sixties* deserves a wide circle of readers and an enduring position. It consists of eight biographical essays, equally divided in number between the two belligerents who made of the War of Secession a naval revolution. Yet it is not of this naval revolution that our sailorman-doctor of philosophy is really concerned. It is in men, men in whose rugged careers main threads of the naval side of the conflict are displayed. In the selection of his characters he has sought types rather than events, and in so doing has achieved a result comparable to Mahan's *Types of Naval Officers*. In his selection of chapter titles he strikes home at the dominant characteristic in the personality or experience of his subjects: David Glasgow Farragut, *Maritime Gate Crasher*; James Dunwoody Bullock, *Sea Lawyer*; Charles Wilkes, *Turbulent Scholar of the Old Navy*; John Wilkinson, *Phantom of the Blockade*; John Rodgers II, *Commander of Iron-clads*; Charles William Read, *Confederate von Lückner*; John Ancrum Winslow, *Quarter Deck Puritan*; James Iredell Waddell, *Seagoing Rip Van Winkle*. The choice of *Sea Dogs* is well balanced and affords the author an opportunity, not only to paint a fairly comprehensive picture of the war of the sixties, but also to etch little pictures of the Mexican War and naval life in peacetime. Though one may concede Major Hill's justification for omitting Semmes and Buchanan, one would wish that his pages could have included these dashing beau ideals of the sea and such others as John Taylor Wood, Josiah Tattnall, and Catesby ap R. Jones.

To Major Hill, Admiral Farragut seems the embodiment of American sea power. His victory at Mobile Bay was of "Nelsonian brilliance," but "his telling blows along the Mississippi" had already entitled him to "a most conspicuous place in old King Neptune's salty Hall of Fame." The Farragut sketch is by far the most extensive one, being twice the average length and four times as long as the shortest sketch. Its treatment is shot through with admiration and even tenderness. Nevertheless, Hill suggests that the famous words damning the torpedoes in Mobile Bay may be apocryphal. Bullock's career as the Confederate navy agent in Europe is finely though briefly done. The sagacity with which this officer built or purchased ships and munitions for the Grey navy and the ingenuity which he exercised in circumventing neutrality regulations are sufficiently depicted to warrant the title of sea lawyer. Through the life of Wilkes the Trent Affair is seen, and the merry chase which the Confederate commerce destroyers led the Union cruisers is glimpsed. Wilkinson's brief cruize as a commerce destroyer and his unsuccessful venture in Canada are overshadowed by his

brilliant and perfect record as a blockade-runner. Rodgers typifies the "transition, under stress of storm and battle, from wood and sails to iron and steam." One usually associates Worden with this transition in the United States navy, but, as Dr. Hill points out, Worden's was "a fortuitous fame in excess of" his accomplishment. Certain it is that Rodgers' masterly handling of the *Weehawken*, in storm and in battle, entitles him to the place chosen by the author. The sketch of Read was first published as a magazine article at a time when Lowell Thomas had but recently made America acquainted with von Lückner. It would have been more apt to have put it "von Lückner, the German 'Savez' Read." "Savez," to recall Read's Naval Academy nickname, is the embodiment of youthful adventure in this octet of Sea Dogs. Winslow, born by chance in North Carolina, is shown first as a rock-ribbed Puritan and second as victor in the Kearsarge-Alabama battle. Waddell, upon remote seas, in ignorance of the collapse of his government and the conquest of his country, continued the war actively in the Pacific for three months after Lee's surrender, and did not finally strike his colors until November, 1865, thereby meriting association with Old Rip himself. Three-fifths of the text relates to Union officers but slightly more than half of the illustrations to the Confederate side.

Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia

WILLIAM M. ROBINSON, JR.

*Hampton and His Red Shirts; South Carolina's Deliverance in 1876.* by Alfred B. Williams. (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell Company, 1935. Pp. 460. \$2.50.)

This book by the late editor of the *Roanoke Times* was originally published before the author's death as a serial in two South Carolina newspapers, and since his death, and without his editorial approval, it has been given its present form by a group of anonymous friends.

Mr. Williams' effort deeply impresses that small army of persons who cherish the South Carolina tradition. His subject, the liberation of that state from the political control of Carpetbaggers and Negroes, is told vehemently; his hero, Wade Hampton, is praised extravagantly; his villains, the Carpetbagger and Negro politicians, are denounced; and his fool, Daniel H. Chamberlain, the idealistic gentleman from Massachusetts who attempted to redirect the political destiny of South Carolina, is roundly ridiculed. Mr. Williams' homely and emphatic style, and his rigid adherence to the chronology suggested by reading the files of a daily newspaper, give his book a simple clarity difficult to obtain in a more complicated arrangement of data. He refuses to burden his narrative with logical generalizations or with the discipline of chapter or paragraph unity. The working out of cause and effect through painful researches in all available sources is avoided. Awkward details of bloodshed, political frauds, and race hatred are subordinated to a colorful central theme. This theme is a benevolent

and handsome hero named Hampton riding to victory amid the roses and salvos of ladies and amid the parades of stern but kindly men dressed in red. The Red Shirts, in these pages, are knights stirred by the same emotions which, a decade before, had been expressed by South Carolinians on the Virginia battlefields. We are told that the cause of Hampton was that of right, truth, decency, civilization, white supremacy; that the cause of Chamberlain and his coadjutors was that of wrong, fraud, indecency, barbarism, Republicanism, negroism. To explain the triumph of Hampton it is only necessary for Mr. Williams occasionally to invoke the hand of a righteous Providence. Obviously the author's judgments and attitudes are glaringly unrealistic; but his sole aim is to add a chapter to the saga of the state very uncritical of its past glories. He does this so effectively that the patriotic South Carolinian will not question many of his statements.

Perhaps a review of the book should end at this point. Mr. Williams modestly warns his readers that he is no historian or stylist, that his work is just a collection of memories re-enforced by a casual consultation of newspaper files, and that it is intended as a work of inspiration rather than a piece of expository scholarship. His friends, in republishing his narrative without subjecting it to a critical editing, have not served his memory with best effect. He planned it only as a newspaper serial. But it has appeared in book form and should be measured by the critical standards which, in this country outside the South, have long been applied to books designed to be informing. Certainly it is time that these standards should be applied to the works of mature Southerners like Mr. Williams. For despite his disclaiming modesty, he was a distinguished journalist whose experiences outside of South Carolina should have freed him from the severe prejudices which invariably characterize the uncontaminated South Carolinian. Moreover, he was thoroughly honest and accurate as far as his light casts its beam; having lived through the deeds he describes, he writes with intimate authority.

It is therefore unfortunate that his book is so episodic, so violently partisan, and so entirely dependent on Democratic newspapers for authority. The author ignores the vast collection of pro-Republican Federal documents on Reconstruction, and the findings of other students in this field. He blandly declares that the "wonderful story" of Hampton's election "never has been told consecutively," ignoring the extensive writings of Henry T. Thompson, Edward L. Wells, John S. Reynolds, A. A. Taylor, B. R. Tillman, and others. Examples of reckless exaggerations are that the South Carolina Reconstructionists "caused more destruction than the four years of Civil War"; that their object was "to drive the white population to exile or to absolute subjection" or to "tortured extinction"; and that in 1876 the white women "lived in the shadow of daily, deadly dread," presumably from black rapists. One Republican politician is characterized as "pompous, pretentious, vicious, vindictive, foul and gross";

other Republicans as "an unsavory band of bandits and ruffians and shameless thieves"; and Chamberlain, although deemed the best of the lot, as one who "was ready to have murdered half the men, women and children in South Carolina." In refutation of these statements it is easy to demonstrate that South Carolina during Reconstruction, despite political aberrations, experienced considerable industrial, religious, education and social progress; and that the Republican leaders never seriously assaulted the premise of white supremacy except in the political sphere. Frequent references to black conspiracies to massacre whites are not substantiated by facts and are refuted in part by the proof that more Negroes than whites were killed in the race riots of the period. The frequent ridiculing of Chamberlain's aids for their poverty does not square with the frequent assertion that they were corrupt and extravagant. On the one hand, Democratic adversaries of these foul people are praised without qualification. "There never has been in the world," the author declares, "a political campaign so nearly flawless in execution as that of the Democrats in 1876 in South Carolina nor a people steered and led so successfully through so many intricate difficulties and dangers." Leaders were always kind and wise and followers always patient and forgiving. Because of the author's preoccupation with the antithesis between bad Republicans and good Democrats, no room is left in his many pages for the measured appraisals of men and of measures, and for illustration of the sound axiom of the scholar that historical events move with an inevitability which precludes ranting preachments.

State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

*Populism in the Old Dominion: Virginia Farm Politics, 1885-1900.* By William DuBose Sheldon. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935. Pp. xiv, 182. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, appendixes. \$2.00.)

In tracing the career of Populism in Virginia from the middle eighties to the end of the nineteenth century, Mr. Sheldon makes clear the interpretation of the local movement and the contemporary political developments of the nation. Why, in the state of Jeffersonian championing of the yeoman farmer, the Populists commanded so limited a following is the chief question posed in this study. However, final emphasis is put upon the idea that this movement in the border state Virginia, though quantitatively unimportant, was qualitatively of considerable effect.

It was economic distress, especially in the counties south of the James River, which led farmers to become doubters in the house of the Democracy's faithful. The depressed state of tobacco, the Negro problem, lack of capital and credit resources, and the evils of tenant farming created, particularly in the Southside, a state of mind conducive to an entente between Virginia farmers and their brethren of the cotton South and the mortgaged wheat areas of the West,

although, because of her more diversified agriculture and her increasing industrialization, Virginia's plight was less distressing than that of the other sections in which Farmers' Alliances and Populism developed. This comparative prosperity, it is true, only served to emphasize the desperate situation below the James, where in the late eighties the crusading zeal of the Farmers' Alliance manifested itself. Its preaching of "co-operation" bore small fruit in the actual solution of economic problems. However, the Alliance roused enthusiasm to such an extent that the question arises as to why the organization made no greater impression on political alignments in the state. The answer given is in terms of the race situation, the force of tradition, and the power of the Democratic "Ring" under such "bosses" as J. S. Barbour and T. S. Martin. The center of agrarian unrest was the center of the Black Belt: political stultification was the upshot of this coincidence.

This frustration eventuated in the People's Party. But here again the Negro question which made fusion between the Republicans and the Populists impossible, the force of Confederate tradition and social ties, the power of an admired leader like John W. Daniel, and the approximation of Virginian economy more and more to that of the East, spelled failure for the Populist insurgents in politics.

The growth of sentiment for the "free and unlimited coinage of silver at the legal ratio of 16 to 1" is described by Mr. Sheldon as a heavy strand in the background of events of 1896. Indeed, Cleveland's "gold letter" of 1891 and his nomination over Daniel's protest was the immediate cause of the formation of the Virginia branch of the People's Party. The American Bimetallic League and *Coin's Financial School* helped the farmers, by 1896, to compel the Democracy to accept "free silver." At the same time the Democrats absorbed the Populists. But the Clevelandites refused to follow Bryan in the national election of that momentous year. Virginia businessmen by the score either refrained from voting or voted for McKinley. The Democrats carried the state, but Bryan's majority was significantly less than that of Cleveland in 1892. Virginia's interests were evidently "of two worlds" by the eve of the twentieth century. In any event, the farmers had been brought low.

The Populists in Virginia passed quite rapidly from the stage. However, their agitation for constitutional reform resulted in the Convention of 1901. Moreover, with the removal of the Negro threat from politics through educational requirements for the suffrage, the road was cleared for reform of the electoral system, long a Populist demand. In short, the permanent deposit of Populism was the usual result of minor parties in the United States: the dominant party was pushed to a certain amount of democratic reform.

The book under review is well organized and distinctly readable. Mr. Sheldon achieves his purpose of placing in their proper perspective the causes of the rise and disintegration of farmer discontent in a border state. He supplements

admirably Professor Hicks' book on agrarian revolt in the nation. In the opinion of the reviewer, however, the most original feature of *Populism in the Old Dominion* is not its treatment of the farmer in politics, but the minor theme: the illuminating analysis of the effect of the state's increasing industrial economy upon her political behavior. The two themes, of course, are closely interwoven, for in 1896 Virginia could still be termed predominantly rural, but in a sense the hour for the exit of the farmer as the political power had struck. The businessman had come into his kingdom in the state, as in the nation.

Hollins College

MARGARET P. SCOTT

*Economic and Social Problems and Conditions of the Southern Appalachians.*  
United States Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No.  
205, January, 1935. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1935.  
Pp. 184. \$.50.)

The present co-operative monograph on the Southern Appalachians rounds out an interesting historical evolution in the scientific research of the United States department of agriculture. From the types of studies represented by plant pathology and animal husbandry the department has advanced to farm management and marketing and to studies in agricultural economics in the broader sense of social welfare. This volume marks a further trend to integrated regional studies in rural life and population with suggested regional planning.

Excellent sections on physical features, types of land use, farm management, markets, tax problems, education, population changes, living conditions and social and church situations give us a picture which may be summarized somewhat as follows: Soil leaching and erosion are year-round processes in the area because of the abundant rainfall, steep slopes, and the type of soil. Saw timber has decreased tremendously, the peak of lumber production having passed in 1909. Primarily an area of small holdings, the Appalachians have seen its land in farms decrease since 1900 while the number of farms have shown a slight increase. In 1929 over half of the area's farms produced less than \$600 worth of farm products sold, traded, or used, and on over forty per cent of the farms the amount sold or exchanged was less than that used by the farm family. The dominant type of farm is thus the self-sufficing farm, while many farmers must supplement their incomes by part-time employment in industry, mining, and "public works" where available. The irregularity of employment in coal mining has left many families in a situation worse than they encounter on their hillside farms.

Taxes on land are heavy in relation to income from the land and the demand for increased social services calls for added revenues. State aid to local services prevails and raises serious questions of local responsibility and the subsidy of submarginal areas. The status of public education indicates to what extent

mountain counties are handicapped by economic conditions and transportation difficulties. Here the training and salaries of teachers are both low and the amount of illiteracy is not altogether due to survivors of an older day. The towns and cities have grown at a much faster rate than the country areas, but the counties with the least economic opportunities have the highest birth rate. The recent back to the farm movement has been mainly a return to relatives who might help during the depression. Isolation and the lack of education as shown in the prevailing state of knowledge in regard to nutrition, sanitation, child and household care indicate that cultural forces may also affect economic advancement.

This study under official auspices has the courage to point to the Appalachians as a problem area and to suggest solutions. To those critics who point that the area is not all of a likeness, the study renders cheerful assent and follows with 225 maps and charts depicting distribution and changes from 1900 to 1930 by counties and minor civil divisions for every item on which the census furnishes data. Cities and the limestone valleys are thus shown to have standards as high as those found elsewhere. With the highest birth rate in the nation, the area's basic problem is seen as the pressure of population on economic opportunities, diminishing because of soil, timber, and mineral depletion. No inauguration of scientific forestry will support as much population as the former exploitation of virgin timber. For the more backward areas migration is viewed as one solution, although poverty and isolation are held to have been the chief barriers to larger spontaneous migrations. Those who object to the planning suggestions will have the task of answering the facts of the survey. In the field of government research this monograph will no doubt be hailed as marking the turn to broader social and welfare interests than commonly found in the department's studies. A section on social work and public welfare activities might well have found a place in the survey.

University of North Carolina

RUPERT B. VANCE

*The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy.* By Charles S. Johnson, Edwin R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. ix, 81. \$1.00.)

This brief treatise can best be characterized as an essay on the social disadvantages inherent in the large-scale organization of agricultural production. The weaknesses of the plantation system have probably never been set forth any more clearly or forcibly than by these authors. In the estimation of the reviewer, it is unfortunate that the implicit condemnation of large-scale methods was not stated in a more explicit manner. Nevertheless, the major strength of the work seems to be in its indictment of this type of agricultural organization. As such,



the volume deserves a wide circulation among the general public as well as among students of history and the social sciences.

The work has two major weaknesses. In the first place, it purports to be a summary of field investigations. But if the materials drawn directly from the published works of Charles S. Johnson, Rupert Vance, Harold Hoffsommer, Clarence Heer, Calvin B. Hoover, Gordon Blackwell and others were omitted, there would be little left. It is important to assemble and co-ordinate the works of these investigators, but the result hardly should be styled a report on original field investigations.

In the second place, the title of the work causes one to read it with the expectation of finding evidences of a wholesale decline or collapse of the existing system. One searches the book in vain for such data. Instead, he finds facts showing how rapidly the system is spreading (pp. 4-5), that the concentration of holdings is continuing (p. 33), and that at the present time, whites have been drawn into the meshes of "tenancy" in greater numbers than Negroes (p. 4). Statements that the system must collapse (pp. 2, 35) are offset by evidence which seems to indicate that it maintains itself as a vicious circle. Indeed, statements like the following (from p. 24) make one wonder if the authors themselves really believe the system is crumbling: "Such in brief detail is the life of the tenant—drear, meagre, and changeless. Upon this is reared an agricultural system which custom and temporary federal subsidy are holding together against the insistent need of complete reorganization."

In conclusion, one familiar with the other works of these authors is surprised at the naïveté he finds here and there in this short volume. For example, one is somewhat dumbfounded by the very simple explanation of peonage among whites which is offered (pp. 10-11): "Because of their insistence upon the degrading of three million Negro tenants, five and a half million white workers continue to keep themselves in virtual peonage."

Louisiana State University

T. LYNN SMITH

90° *in the Shade*. By Clarence Cason. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xiii, 186. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

Mr. Cason in his brief volume attempts a "psychograph" of the South, seeking to do for this region what Gamaliel Bradford did for those people whose biographies he wrote. It is obvious that it is no easy task to write a characterization of a region which extends geographically from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, economically from bankers to tenant farmers, and socially from blue-blooded aristocrats of the Tidewater to degenerate "rosin chawers" of the backwoods. The author has drawn together some papers relating not primarily to the traits of selected human beings but to the characteristics of a part of the United States which is self-conscious enough and sufficiently insulated from the remain-

der of the country to be thought of as a separate province. But he disclaims putting his volume out as either a mere justification or a condemnation of the South.

"James J. Hill, the railroad builder, studiously governed his investments in accordance with his business maxim that no man upon whom the snow does not fall is ever worth a tinker's dam" (p. 3). With this as his text Mr. Cason develops his theme of an enervating climate of 90 degrees in the shade in mid-summer as being the chief cause of the character which he gives the South. With this thesis he soliloquizes on the Southern mind in a region where the summer sun does not permit the farmers to "muster a sufficient amount of vitality to pull the weeds from their cotton and demand the rights of free-born American citizens at the same time" (p. 11). It is with such irony and sarcasm as this that the author casts an analytical eye over the Southern scene and finds that on the whole it is a down-at-the-heel, lazy, ignorant, complacent, and exasperating region which can only hope to better its condition by raising itself by its own bootstraps. Until this is done, the region that has produced a "Cotton Tom" Heflin and "The Man" Bilbo would do well to put all political news on the sports pages of the newspapers. Such generalities and solutions—overstated through the journalist's impulse to be effective and entertaining—are merely the thoughts of a man thinking aloud about subjects dear to him. These are informal opinions, informally given and never insisted upon. Quiet, objective, critical to a degree, the book looks at us as we are and talks with us about ourselves, allowing us always, through the medium of the "psychograph," to answer back, even disagree if we like. Part of this is due to the author's tolerance of his reader's point of view and to the fact that some of the opinions and observations have been brought into conformity with the author's philosophy without true regard to the real conditions.

Mr. Cason exhibits the journalist's broad interest in whatever is happening, illustrating his points with references to news events which are alive in the reader's mind. In this treatment of the South he does not take the position of the sectional chauvinist who denies the existence of religious bigotry, ignorance and stubborn fundamentalism, or of the sentimentalist who has been lured into insipidities with his jessamine-moonlight motif. Neither is he a renegade who writes of his region for the plaudits of a small group who have nothing but scorn and contempt for the South. Instead, he takes all of the component parts and characteristics of the South into account; but the spirit in which he thinks of them and discusses them proves that he has blended them into the whole and no single element remains dominant—something lesser men have not done.

In conclusion the author believes that "the South would profit from a nice, quiet revolution. I do not mean a Communistic revolt, or another Populist uprising, or further developments of Fascism in the South—may the good Lord deliver us from all such things as those! What I have in mind is a revision of

the region's implanted ideas, a clarification of issues, a realistic and direct recognition of existing social problems, a redirection of the South's courage and audacity, and a determination that the southern conscience shall be accorded the reverence due a sacred thing" (pp. 185, 186).

Louisiana State University

V. L. BEDSOLE

*Local Government and Administration in Louisiana.* By R. L. Carleton, with a foreword by Charles W. Pipkin. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1935. Pp. 333. \$2.50.)

This volume is an excellent study of the background, development, and present operation of local government in a state whose historic traditions are of unusual interest. It is a substantial contribution to the field of public administration which in recent years has been recognized as the heart of the problem of modern government.

The effect of the varied historical background on the local institutions of the state is interpreted in the chapters which deal with Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States. Although state and local institutions, political areas, and codes of law still reflect the early influences of French and Spanish organization and procedure, it is shown that present "local forms and functions do not differ fundamentally from those found in other states" (p. 11). For state purposes, the parish is the main unit of administration, municipalities and special taxing districts playing distinctly minor rôles.

The major portion of the study is devoted to a consideration of the powers and duties of these local areas as they are administered today in carrying out various state and local functions. By means of analyses and comparisons, local institutional defects and deficiencies are noted and suggestions are made for their improvement. Official relations of the state to its local subdivisions are briefly explained throughout the study. Incidentally, the reader will be pleased to find a separate chapter devoted to the City of New Orleans and Orleans Parish.

Dr. Carleton emphasizes the need of integrating the local governmental structure with the view of avoiding duplication of effort and unnecessary expenditures that result from an overlapping of agencies and an absence of responsible direction. Inasmuch as functions once regarded as purely local in character are now of state-wide significance, he would have the state assume a large share of the expense heretofore borne by local areas. Indeed, the state would take over entirely those services generally recognized as being of particular importance to the state. This need is expressed as follows: "As soon, therefore, as the state undertakes these functions, at that time and not until then will they be supported and administered in an adequate fashion. Until then there must be a stage of transition, during which these functions should be performed by areas better

qualified than those now in existence" (p. 302). One is impressed, however, by the author's awareness of the difficulty in overcoming the time-honored pride in local self-government, for he frankly admits that it would be impolitic to press some of his recommendations offered as essential to improved administration.

The state constitution, statutes, court decisions, and various official reports constitute the chief sources of information. Official material is given life by personal observation of organization and functions of several local governments. Extensive footnotes, statistics, and a substantial bibliography add much value to the book. However, a more comprehensive index would add materially to its usefulness. One wishes, also, that an otherwise well-organized and readable book were not overburdened with excessive details from time to time.

All in all, it is a competent job, and the recommendations are in line with the best current thinking on these matters. Moreover, this reviewer ventures to think that there is in all parts of the country, among students, an interest in administrative conditions and possibilities in the Southern South. Undoubtedly, Professor Carleton has laid a splendid foundation for future studies in this field in Louisiana. Since he has wisely refrained from drawing conclusions with respect to material bearing upon the depression period, a subsequent consideration of the problems of the depression years with those of a more permanent character will be awaited with interest.

The Citadel

JAMES K. COLEMAN

*State Administration in South Carolina.* By James K. Coleman. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1935. Pp. 299. \$3.50.)

This study is an attempt to present a descriptive analysis of the present highly decentralized state administration in South Carolina and to suggest certain fundamental changes for its improvement. Apparently this is the first comprehensive analysis that has been made of the administrative situation in the state. It is a welcome contribution just at this time when an earnest effort is being made to arouse interest in political science and start needed reforms in state and local government in South Carolina.

The author proceeds upon the theory that economy in state government has become a matter of major importance in South Carolina, and that efficiency and economy can not be secured through the present outworn and ineffective machinery which is inadequate, decentralized, and irresponsible. He uses the semi-historical method of presentation and analysis which adds to the interest and usefulness of the book. In the several departments, as now organized, he finds duplication, inequalities, excessive costs, and the lack of proper control and responsibility. The legislature has often provided new agencies for the extension of governmental activity without inquiring whether the function might not be better

handled by an existing office. This multiplication of administrative agencies has greatly increased overhead costs and complicated the organization.

He points out that under the constitution of 1895 the supreme executive authority of the state is vested in the governor, but in reality this pretentious statement is practically meaningless. The governor of the state is only one of the eight constitutional officers elected by popular vote. His seven colleagues are his peers in the sight of the law and he has practically no control over them since he can neither appoint, remove, nor prescribe their duties which are fixed by law. Even his rather extensive power of appointment has not materially increased his control over state administration because of the overlapping terms of commissioners and board members. Inasmuch as there is no executive budget, the governor can not assume genuine leadership in the formulation of fiscal policies. He has no power to take decisive steps to protect the financial interests of the state or county against corrupt officials until the damage is already done.

Professor Coleman concludes that a thorough overhauling of the entire administrative system of South Carolina, involving extensive constitutional and statutory changes, is necessary. Instead of the eight constitutional officers now elected by popular vote, and the present maze of irresponsible boards and commissions he would have the people elect only the governor and the members of the general assembly. The general assembly would be empowered to create thirteen administrative departments which would be designed to meet modern needs and conditions. The proposed departments are the executive, finance, revenues, health, public welfare, agriculture, labor, corporations, public utilities, highways, education, conservation, and law. The governor would be the head of the executive department, and he in turn would appoint the heads of all the other departments, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. He would also have the power of removal of these officers for cause. Finally there would be a department of audit chosen by the general assembly and directly responsible to that body. Through the short ballot system the plan contemplates the centralization of administrative authority and responsibility in the hands of the governor and gives him adequate control. The plan is based on sound principles of political science, and is working satisfactorily in a number of states.

Clemson College

GEORGE R. SHERRILL

## Historical News and Notices

The second annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association will be held in Nashville, Tennessee, probably in November. The August number of the *Journal* will announce the program and the exact date of the meeting.

### PERSONAL

Carl S. Driver, assistant professor of history at Vanderbilt University since 1929, died on March 23 at the age of 40. He received the A.B. degree at Bridgewater College in 1918, and after teaching in public schools in Virginia and Indiana, went to Vanderbilt for graduate study. There he received the M.A. degree in 1924 and the Ph.D. in 1929. He was the author of *John Sevier: A Pioneer of the Old Southwest*, published in 1932; and the editor of an annotated reprint of Charles William Janson's *Stranger in America* (London, 1807), which was published in January, 1936. His research interests lay in the history of the Old Southwest, and for a number of years he had been engaged in gathering materials for a study of the basis of sectional rivalry in Tennessee, some parts of which he had put together in tentative form before his death.

Mose L. Harvey, instructor in history at Emory University, will be on leave during the summer and fall quarters to continue work for the doctorate at the University of California.

J. Fred Rippy of Duke University becomes professor of American History at Chicago University, appointment effective in October.

John D. Barnhart of West Liberty State Teachers College has been appointed associate professor of American history at Louisiana State University. The appointment becomes effective in September.

Charles S. Sydnor of the University of Mississippi has been appointed associate professor of history at Duke University. P. L. Rainwater has been promoted professor and head of the department at the University of Mississippi, effective September, 1936.

The leave of absence of Kenneth O. Warner, associate professor of history and political science at the University of Arkansas, has been extended to February 1, 1937. He is acting field consultant for the American Municipal Association with headquarters at Chicago.

Herbert Searcy, assistant professor of history and political science at Birmingham-Southern College, will be on leave for 1936-1937 to complete the doctorate at Duke University.

Watt Stewart of Oklahoma A. & M. College will devote the coming year to travel and research in South America, principally in Peru, Chile, and Argentina.

H. T. Lefler of the University of North Carolina has received a Grant-in-Aid from the Social Science Research Council to continue his study of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" in the Southern colonies. He will devote the summer to research in the British Public Record Office, Fulham Palace, and in other London archives.

Albert B. Saye, instructor in history and political science at the University of Georgia, has been appointed to a Beck Fellowship and will be on leave to study toward the doctorate at Harvard University.

Dr. Grace Beardsley has been appointed to the history faculty of Goucher College to teach courses in ancient history.

Ludwell L. Montague of Virginia Military Institute will present a paper on "American Attitudes toward Haiti, 1790-1915," before the annual meeting of the Virginia Social Science Association. He is preparing for publication his dissertation, "The Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1861-1906," which was accepted at Duke University, May, 1935.

Miss Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem is editing the fifth volume of the Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, scheduled for publication in 1937 by the North Carolina Historical Commission. Volumes I-IV, all edited by Miss Fries, were published by the Commission during the years, 1922-1930.

The Yale University Press expects to publish this spring, "The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789," by Dr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

"The Women of the Confederacy," by Francis B. Simkins of State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia, and James W. Patton, Converse College, will be published by Garrett and Massie, Richmond, on September 1.

In the absence of Professor W. R. Cooper, Andrew Lytel is teaching American history at Southwestern College, Memphis, during the second semester, 1935-1936.

Dumas Malone, whose work as editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography* will be completed soon, has been appointed director of the Harvard University Press.

Summer migrations for 1936: Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., of Brenau College and Francis Williamson of Johns Hopkins University to teach at Emory University; John D. Barnhart of West Liberty State Teachers College to teach at Indiana University; W. B. Hesselstine of the University of Wisconsin to teach at Washington University; William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University to teach at the University of Colorado; O. D. Lambert of West Virginia Wesleyan, Harold J. Grimm of Capital University, and Walter P. Webb of the University of Texas to teach at West Virginia University; E. E. Dale of Oklahoma University to teach at the University of Missouri; Watt Stewart of Oklahoma A. & M. College to teach at New York State College for Teachers at Albany; Philip Davidson of Agnes Scott College to teach at the University of North Carolina.

The work of organizing the survey of archives of the Federal government outside of the District of Columbia is nearing completion, according to a statement by Dr. P. M. Hamer, Director. The following regional directors and assistants have been designated for Southern states: *Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware*, Van Arsdale Turner, Baltimore; *Virginia*, Terry C. Durham, Richmond; *West Virginia*, Clarence E. Roth, Morris Harvey College; *North Carolina*, C. C. Crittenden, Raleigh, Mattie E. Edwards, assistant; *Tennessee and Kentucky*, Samuel C. Williams, Johnson City; *Missouri*, Ralph P. Bieber, Washington University, Herbert H. Grimm, assistant; *Texas*, Richard R. Stenberg, San Antonio; *Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas*, Stanley C. Arthur, New Orleans; *Alabama*, A. B. Moore, University of Alabama; *Florida*, Kathryn T. Abbey, Florida State College for Women, Dorothy Dodd, assistant; *Georgia*, Merritt B. Pound, University of Georgia; *South Carolina*, Mrs. Jessie Reed Burnett, Columbia.

The Historical Records Survey, a Federal Writers' WPA project under the direction of Dr. Luther H. Evans, involving the locating of state, county, and municipal archives and private manuscripts, is also supervised in North Carolina by C. C. Crittenden. He is assisted in this survey by Dan Lacy.

Professor David Y. Thomas of the University of Arkansas has been appointed assistant state director of the Survey of County Archives in Arkansas. Only a few counties will be covered in the survey. Professor Thomas will continue to teach, giving only part time to the project.

#### HISTORICAL CONFERENCES

The Emory University Institute of Citizenship met for its ninth annual session March 30-April 1. The general theme of the program was "The Constitution of the United States," and the lecture staff included Paul Bryan, professor of law at Emory University; Walter F. Dodd, professor of law at Yale University; Fletcher M. Green, professor of American history at Emory University; Irby



Hudson, assistant professor of history and political science at Vanderbilt University; H. J. Pearce, Jr., vice-president and professor of history, Brenau College; C. B. Robson, associate professor of political science at the University of North Carolina; and Graham Wright, president of the Georgia Bar Association.

The first annual Public Forum of the West Georgia College, Carrollton, assembled on March 27 for a two-day session. Milton Fleetwood, former president of the Georgia Press Association gave the opening address, "Seven Wonders of Georgia." Two papers considered agricultural problems: "Agrarianism," by John D. Wade, and "Some Problems of Georgia Agriculture," by Malcolm Bryan, both of the University of Georgia. Chancellor S. V. Sanford discussed "The University System and Its Relation to the State," and R. P. Brooks of the University of Georgia presented "The Taxation Problem." "American Neutrality, Past and Present," was the subject of Fletcher M. Green of Emory University, and "The Political Situation in Europe Today" was analyzed by George Paffalovich.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

*Fredericksburg and the Cavalier Country* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1935, 92 pp., \$1.00), by John T. Goolrick, is a guide book to historic places in and around a significant Virginia town. There are ninety-three brief sketches of settlements, private houses, public buildings, monuments and markers, battlefields and parks, embracing the period from early Colonial days to the close of the Civil War. The booklet is copiously illustrated, and the end papers present maps of Fredericksburg and the Fredericksburg-Spotsylvania Battlefield Park. Although apparently designed primarily for the tourist, the work serves also to emphasize the historical significance of a Cavalier region.

*Historic and Heroic Lynchburg* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell Company, 1935, 166 pp.), by Don P. Halsey, consist of a series of speeches commemorating "people and deeds" of his Virginia town. The volume was called forth in part by Lynchburg's sesquicentennial anniversary which occurs during the current year. Among persons treated in the addresses are Generals Thomas T. Mumford, Robert E. Rhodes, Samuel Garland, Jr., James Dearing, Colonel Rawley W. Martin, Reverend T. M. Carson, Lucy Nina Otey, Ruth Hariston Early, Mary Virginia Ellet Cabell, Robert Jordan Davis, and Judge James Garland. There are also sections devoted to such topics as "The Beginning of Lynchburg," "Jefferson's Supreme Service," "History of St. Paul's Church," and "Lynchburg—Past and Present."

*The Christmas Stories of a Virginia Circuit Judge: Some Memories* (Staunton: The McClure Company, 1935, 90 pp., \$1.25), by Joseph A. Glasgow, with a foreword by John W. Davis, embraces the humorous reminiscences of a Virginia Valley judge.

*Chieftain Greenwood Leflore and the Choctaw Indians of the Mississippi Valley* (Memphis: C. A. Davis Printing Company, 1936, 141 pp.), by Florence Rebecca Ray, devotes a single chapter to the "Last Chief of Choctaws East of the Mississippi River." Leflore's career as planter and politician is barely mentioned. The remaining portion of the booklet treats the characteristics and customs of the Choctaw Indian in his primitive home, the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, Pushmotaha's efforts to save white settlers in the Georgia-Alabama-Mississippi region from extermination, and the Natchez Trace. It also narrates some Indian legends.

*The Report of the Daniel Boone Bicentennial Commission to the 1936 General Assembly of Kentucky* (62 pp., n.p., n.d.) contains a report of the activities of the commission for 1935, recommendations for the future, and two addresses: "Daniel Boone, 1734-1934," delivered by Samuel M. Wilson before the Filson Club, October 1, 1934; and the "Fame of Daniel Boone," delivered by Louise Phelps Kellogg before the Kentucky State Historical Society, June 7, 1934.

*A Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson*, 72 pp., and *A Bibliography of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren*, 72 pp., have been compiled by W. Harvey Wise, Jr., and John W. Cronin and issued as Numbers 3 and 5 of the "Presidential Bibliographical Series" by the Riverford Publishing Company, Washington, D. C., 1935.

The Southern Policy Committee has inaugurated a series of studies known as the "Southern Policy Papers" (University of North Carolina Press), the purpose of which "is to stimulate interest in questions of public importance in the South." Three numbers have been issued to date: *Southern Population and Social Planning*, by T. J. Woofert, Jr.; *Social Security for Southern Farmers*, by H. Clarence Nixon; and *Social Legislation in the South*, by Charles W. Pipkin.

*Southern Sketches*, Number 6 (First Series), embraces *Colonel Theodore O'Hara* (Charlottesville: The Historical Publishing Company, 1936, 57 pp.), by Edgar Erskine Hume. O'Hara, captain of Kentucky volunteers in the Mexican War, participant in Lopez's Cuban filibuster, colonel of a Confederate regiment, an editor of the *Louisville Times* and later of the *Mobile Register*, is best known as author of a poem, "The Bivouac of the Dead," commemorating the burial at Frankfort in 1847 of Kentuckians killed at Buena Vista.

*The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*, by Anne E. Hughes, has been reprinted from the University of California *Publications in History*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 292-391, by the Press of the El Paso Public Schools, El Paso, Texas, 1935.

The *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, XI (Abilene: West Texas Historical Association, 1935, 110 pp., \$3.00), contains the following articles:

"The Industrial Development of Brownwood," by Brooke Smith; "Forty Years of Pioneering in San Baba County, 1846-1886," by Alma Ward Hamrick; "Explorers and Early Settlers of Shackelford County," by Ben O. Grant; "James Abercrombie Hyder, Dean of West Texas Preachers," by G. C. Boswell; "Santa Anna and the Santa Anna Mountains," by Rupert N. Richardson; "Santa Anna and the Aftermath of San Jacinto," by R. C. Crane; "Activities of Company E, Frontier Battalion, Texas Rangers, 1874-1880," by T. R. Havins; "Building the Santa Fe Railroad Through the South Plains," by Carl Harper; and "On the Cattle Trail and Buffalo Range, Joe S. McCombs," contributed by Ben O. Grant and J. R. Webb.

Among recent acquisitions of the Virginia Historical Society are historical papers relating to old Dunmore County and files of the *Virginia Gazette*, 1778-1779.

The Dallas Historical Society has recently acquired two important documents dealing with the Peters' Colony Company, whose activities began the colonization and development of north Texas. Internal conditions of the colony and attitudes and motivation of prospective colonists are indicated in these documents.

Manuscript materials acquired during the past year by the College of William and Mary Library include a large collection of Landon Carter papers from Sabine Hall, the John Marshall papers obtained from the estate of a great granddaughter of John Marshall, the Jerdone family papers covering about two hundred years of the business and social life of that family, and the Warner T. Jones papers containing many relating to the early history of Gloucester County. The Library has also acquired the remnants of the St. Leger Landon Carter library of Cleve, the collection from the John Barton Payne estate which contains about 1200 volumes, and the John Hart collection of manuscripts, photographs, maps, and rare books relating to Virginia and the South.

The University of Arkansas Library is making a collection of Arkansas maps. It now has twelve antedating 1900 and seven following that date. Among recent acquisitions is a copy of *The New Gazetteer, or Geographical Description of North America and the West Indies* (1835), which contains a map showing "Arkopolis" (now Little Rock) as the capital of the territory. The earliest map of Arkansas in the collection appeared in *The Great Display of Folly*, published in Holland in 1720, a satire on John Law's "Mississippi Bubble." It is very inaccurate, showing among other things Arkansas on both sides of the Mississippi River.

Articles on the Upper South: "Lyon Gardiner Tyler," by James Southall Wilson, "William and Mary College and Its Influence on the Founding of the Republic," by Lyon G. Tyler, and "A Tribute to the Memory of Dr. Lyon

Gardiner Tyler," by J. Gordon Bohannon, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (October); "George Keith Taylor, 1769-1815, Virginia Federalist and Humanitarian," and "John Thompson, Author of 'The Letters of Curtius' and a Petersburg Contemporary of George Keith Taylor," by Edward A. Wyatt, IV, "Lee and the Bullet of the Civil War," by Kirkwood Mitchell, "The Revival of Iron Manufacture in Eastern Virginia as Exemplified by the History of the Catherine Furnace in Spotsylvania County," by O. F. Northington, Jr., and "On the Study of Southern Literature," by Clarence Gohdes, *ibid.* (January); "Notes on the Ellwood House, Spotsylvania County, Virginia," by James Power Smith, Jr., in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January); "Tidewater Churches," by Margaret Davis, in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (January); "'White Supremacy' and the North Carolina Suffrage Amendment," by William Alexander Mabry, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January); "The Slavery Background of Foster's My Old Kentucky Home," by Thomas D. Clark, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (January); "Robert William Wells, Jurist, Public Servant, and Designer of the Missouri State Seal," by Roy T. King, and "The Panic and Depression of 1837-43 in Missouri," by Dorothy B. Dorsey, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (January); "Judge Charles Bismark Ames," by D. A. Richardson, and "Chief John Ross," by John Bartlett Meserve, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (December).

Documents and compilations on the Upper South: "Some Notes on 'The Charity of the Honorable Robert Boyle, Esq., of the City of London, Deceased,' " Part III, compiled by Herbert Lawrence Gantor, "Captain Thomas Graves and Some of His Descendants," compiled by William Montgomery Sweeny, "Some Buckingham County Letters" and "A Tory Returns to Buckingham, Extracts from Samuel Shepard's Diary, 1776, 1777," contributed by William Shepard, and "The Smith-Holmes Duel, 1809," by Richard Xavier Evans, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (October); "Letters of Thomas Newton, Jr.," edited by James A. Padgett, *ibid.* (January); "Diary of Col. William Bolling of Bolling Hall," continued, notes by the editor, "Letters from Old Trunks [Tucker correspondence]," contributed, with notes, by Mrs. George C. Coleman, and "Edmund Randolph's Essay on the Revolutionary History of Virginia, 1774-1782," continued, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January); "A Bibliography of North Carolina Imprints, 1761-1800," compiled by Douglas C. McMurtrie, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January); "A Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Kentucky Broad-sides," compiled by Douglas C. McMurtrie, and "The Court Proceedings of 1806 in Kentucky against Aaron Burr and John Adair," edited by Samuel M. Wilson, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (January); "The Great Crossings Church Records, 1795-1801," edited by Leland Winfield Meyer, "The Van Meterens of Holland and America," compiled by Amelia Clay Lewis Van Meter

Rogers, "Lafayette in Kentucky," continued, compiled by Edgar Erskine Hume, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (January).

Articles on the Lower South: "Old Ocmulgee Fields, the Capital Town of the Creek Confederacy," by Walter A. Harris, "Agriculture in the Interior of Georgia, 1830-1860," by Paul Murray, and "The First Garden of Georgia," by Bertha Sheppard Hart, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (December); "East Florida Seminary—Micanopy," by C. L. Crow, in the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* (January); "The John Perkins Family of Northeast Louisiana," by Robert Dabney Calhoun, "Louisiana and the Annexation of Texas," by James E. Winston, "The Pontalba Buildings," by John S. Kendall, "Wet Sand and Cotton—Banks' Red River Campaign," by H. L. Landers, "A Note on Absenteeism and Pluralism in British West Florida," by Cecil Johnson, and "The Louisiana Cession and the Family Compact," by Richard R. Stenberg, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January); "The Confederate Exodus to Latin America," Part II, by Lawrence F. Hill, and "Campaigning in the Big Bend of the Rio Grande in 1787," by Al B. Nelson, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (January).

Documents and compilations on the Lower South: "The First Governor Moore and His Children," compiled by Mabel L. Webber, and "The Thomas Elfe Account Book 1765-1775," continued, contributed by Mabel L. Webber, copied by Elizabeth H. Jervey, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (January); "The First American Road in Florida," Part II, edited by Mark F. Boyd, and "The Panton, Leslie Papers," continued, transcribed by Mrs. John W. Greenslade, in the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* (January); "Henry Adams Bullard: First President of the Louisiana Historical Society," and "Francois Xavier Martin: Second President of the Louisiana Historical Society," edited by Walter Prichard, "A Suppressed Co-operationist Protest against Secession," edited by Roger Wallace Shugg, "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," continued, translated by Heloise H. Cruzat, marginal notes by Henry P. Dart, and "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana," continued, translated by Laura Porteous, with marginal notes by Henry P. Dart, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January); "Letters of Antonio Martinez, the Last Spanish Governor of Texas, 1817-1822," Part III, translated and edited by Mattie Austin Hatcher, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (January); "Diary of a Journey in Arkansas in 1856," edited by Charles S. Sydnor, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (December).

General and regional articles and compilations: "Southern Housewives before the Revolution," by Julia Cherry Spruill, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January); "Slavery Reform in the Eighteenth Century: An Aspect of Transatlantic Intellectual Cooperation," by Michael Kraus, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (January); "Colonial Settlement and Early

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